THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

October 9, 1948

DUST IN THE EYES

AN EDITORIAL

China Gravitates To The Right

C. Y. W. Meng

Fascism Ahead

J. R. Kaim

Southern Climate And The Chinese

Chang Chuen-tsuen

HOW TO HALT COMMUNISM

AN EDITORIAL

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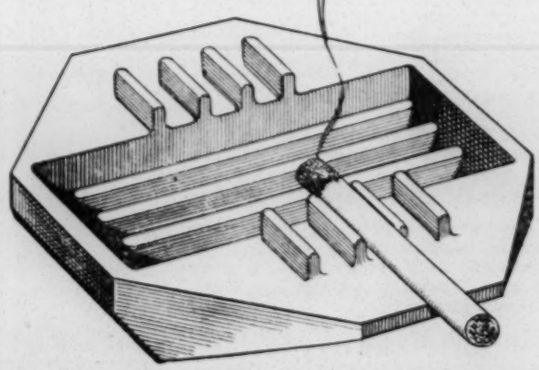

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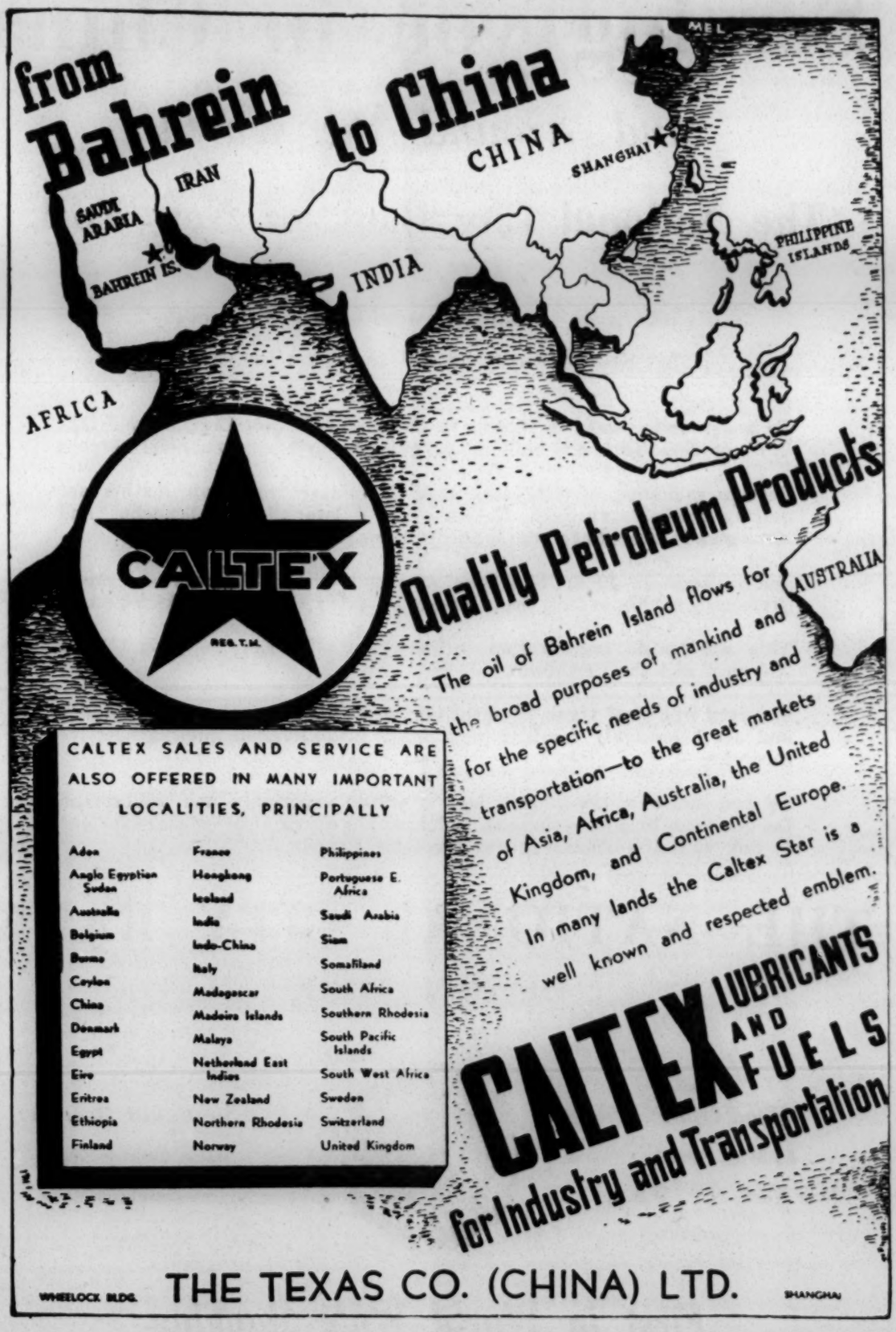
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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Fate In Balance

To The Editor:

It was a great surprise to both Chinese and foreigners when our Government announced its currency reform. However, these measures were met with both welcome and suspicion. The Optimist views China's sweeping currency reform as a bold, comprehensive step, a 'cure-all' for China's economic ills; the Pessimist, on the contrary, thinks the reform will give the country at most three months' respite from inflation, because the Government hasn't sufficient resources to back the Gold Yuan. While there is a great gulf between the above two opinions, to me it would seem too early to predict the consequences of the reform.

Toward the end, the 'fapi' suffered from malignant inflation, its value depreciating not only month by month and week by week, but almost minute by minute. With such a situation, the country's economy was on the horns of a dilemma. The Government, despite all obstacles, adopted the reform of the currency rather than allowing China to collapse helplessly; so far, the reform should be welcome. But what a disappointment that the reform made no attempt to 'soak the rich,' whose ill-gotten gains now seriously threaten the security of the nation! Such a mistake can never be forgiven!

Also, it is stated that the new Yuan is to be supported 40 percent by gold, silver and foreign currencies and 60 percent by Government 'guarantees,' with a nine-man Note Issue Reserve Supervisory Commission established. But it is not as simple as this. According to the theory of money, in a sound currency system the reserve is no more important than the management of currency. For to maintain the value of money depends not only upon the reserve, but also upon a proper proportion between the total amounts of goods and currency. A balanced budget and international payments are also needed. The currency will then stabilize at a certain level. To attain this end, the Government should put the following measures into effect:

1. Win or stop the civil war;
2. Cut down the military expenditure;
3. Set up a comprehensive and equitable tax system;
4. Stimulate the export trade and remittances of overseas Chinese;
5. Issue bonds;
6. Increase production; and
7. Control prices.

Other than carrying out the above measures, there is no panacea for China's economic ills, for the present economic crisis is the result of an accumulation of economic, political and military factors. As long as the fire of civil war burns, the Government will find it harder and harder to avert final economic collapse. China's fate remains in the balance. For any success of the currency reform, the Government must continue its efforts and the people must cooperate fully with the Government. There is an old Chinese saying, which all the people should take to heart to-

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day: "If the skin is gone, hair will have nothing to grow on."

CHANG CHIN JAN.

Canton
September 2, 1948

Viewing Americans

To The Editor:

The Chinese visitor to the shores of America often finds it a land of contrast. The language in use is in itself a series of contradictions with very few fixed rules and the people all seem to be going and coming at the same time.

It is well known that an American will boil a drink to make it hot, put ice in it to make it cool, put sugar in it to make it sweet, put lemon in it to make it sour, say, "Here's to you," and then drink it himself and think nothing of how irrational his actions are.

The American visitor to China finds it hard to understand how the Chinese can drink warm wine when his first action, from bock beer to champagne, is to put it on ice and his most vital concern is how fast a thing can be done.

The United States was not always a nation of great hustle and bustle. There was a time when it was fashionable to be more reserved and it was in those days that the people had time to think of more than working at top speed all day and driving themselves in search of pleasure for most of the night. The customs of half a century ago are a far cry from those of today. It was a rash gentleman who would place a young lady on his left when walking. In those days only those who flung convention to the wind would appear on the beach in anything but a long black bathing suit.

From the return of the "New Look," it might be said that Americans are reverting to their old ways. Perhaps it would be better for all concerned if they did. If they are strange, it may be attributed to the fact that very few are true scholars, and in this respect, they would do well to look across the sea and find out what can be learned from the cradle of culture known as China.

Present day America is always looking for entertainment. It is true that city dwellers frequent theaters and night spots, but even to these sophisticated citizens the sound of a Virginia Reel and the promise of a square dance presents a still sought after kind of entertainment.

To both young and old the circus is a thing of wonder and delight. Countless tents dot the area, each housing some new adventure and each equipped with the familiar barker at the door who sincerely promises the spectators the "greatest show on earth for one thin dime—only a tenth of a dollar."

Americans from six to sixty find the parade into the arena, the aerial artists and, of course, the clowns, each time more exciting than the last, and if ever a Spring went by that the circus failed to appear there would probably be vigorous protests.

Sports form a large part of American life and the baseball diamond is even more popular today than it was in the day of Americans' grandfathers, who gladly recited the woeful tale of "Casey At The Bat."

Most families still go for the Sunday afternoon drive, only now it is the trusty car and not the horse and buggy that provides transportation.

Let the men of science experiment with their rockets to the moon, most Americans would rather spend their vacation fishing from a canoe on a quiet mountain lake and come back to the big city to relate once more the age-old story of the "big one that got away."

EUGENE CHANG.

Shanghai
September 28, 1948

Government Decree

To The Editor:

Immediately after the promulgating of the currency reform, our government, in order to make it more effective, has given out a number of decrees which have much to do with China's economic situation. One of them, as revealed by a vernacular paper, is to the effect that no passenger is allowed to carry with him more than 20 Gold Yuan. There are many people bewildered by this. It would interest you to know that, in Canton, two Americans went to the local Central Bank to inquire about what that decree really means and complained that they would be compelled to take lodging on the street corner if they were to get to Hongkong with such a small sum of money.

I sympathize very much with the two Americans. There is no denying the fact that, since commodity prices went sky-rocketing as soon as the Gold Yuan made its appearance in Canton, the above-mentioned decree is somewhat unreasonable. Up to the present, the Gold Yuan has merely rendered a little convenience to the people for its carrying; it is still far from being magic to cure the soaring market prices. Such being the case, it is simply impossible that such a small sum of money can cover the expenses of even a short journey, to say nothing of a long one. My own experience, my recent trip to Kaiping, a town very near to Canton, cost me more than 20 Gold Yuan. Frankly speaking, if the lawmakers had had a clear idea of the existing state of our commercial affairs, they would not have made such a funny law which cannot be understood by anybody.

Finally, while I have to say much about this matter, it is not that I have kept too many Gold Yuan to carry, but that the foregoing decree would cause the people to smell a rat. It is advisable for our government to give a reason for the above law or to have it revised as soon as possible.

LO CHUNG-YEAN.

Kaiping, Kwangtung
September 23, 1948

Fond Reader

To The Editor:

Having been one of the subscribers to your valuable *Weekly Review*, I have made much progress in the learning of English and have obtained much knowledge from your informative and accurate articles during the past three months.

I appreciate very much your generous present of a supplementary copy dated September 4. But I am very sorry to say that I have failed to subscribe to your magazine continuously because my economic condition does not allow me to do so. I am a small public servant of a Government bureau in Kunming and get a very poor salary each month. It is very hard for me to spare such a big sum of money as GY10 from among my other necessary expenditures. So, I cannot but give up my privilege of being a regular reader for the time being. I know that you will be sorry that you are losing a supporter, but an esteemed publication such as the *Review* must certainly be heartily supported by the multitude. Being fond of the magazine, I shall again be a regular reader as soon as I get enough money to do so. No matter how difficult my condition might be, for me, to read the *Weekly Review* is a sensible thing.

G. K.

Kunming
September 25, 1948

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—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

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Kansu Education

To The Editor:

It is generally admitted that Kansu, known as a place where Chinese culture originated in ancient times, has degenerated into a backward province today in all respects, especially education. The chief impediment to the natural infiltration of modern civilization into this region is due to the extraordinary inconvenience in communication, for Kansu is geographically a mountainous highland in China.

Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Provincial Government has laid great stress on the development of secondary education. A number of senior middle schools were established one after another in certain cities. But they are so poorly equipped that books well worth reading can hardly be found in the libraries and instruments used for experiments can never be seen in laboratories simply for lack of funds. Above all, no competent teachers can be had to undertake the teaching jobs.

Therein comes the difficulty. So far as I know, most of the well-trained and best qualified teachers often refuse to go to those schools located in some cities in this province except Lanchow, partly because of the hard life and partly because of their being isolated from up-to-date knowledge. Under this condition, the school authorities are forced to take it for granted that only those with a little knowledge of a certain course will be willing to teach it. Such being the case, what is the result? Only the poor pupils, innocent and promising, are the victims in this tragedy. Year by year many students graduated from schools and went to large cities like Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, etc. to sit for the entrance examinations of some celebrated colleges. A few days ago, I received a letter from one of my friends at Nanking. He told me that out of no less than 200 Kansu applicants, only five succeeded in the entrance examinations. What a complete failure education in Kansu is!

In order to improve education in this province I suggest:

(1) Senior middle schools in Kansu should be well-localized at several selected cities such as Lanchow, Tienshui, Pinliang, Wuwei, etc. in proportion to the population.

(2) The funds of education should be wisely used for the development of established schools instead of wasting money in opening new ones, poorly-equipped.

(3) Excellent teachers should be encouraged to go to the poorer places by the offer of multiplied salaries.

(4) Preparatory classes should be set up by colleges so as to offer a last chance for study to those who have failed in the said examinations.

WILLIAM LEE.

Lanchow, Kansu
September 25, 1948

School Exams

To The Editor:

Recently, a schoolmate told me that a teacher has refused to teach in the Yenchow Middle School because he cannot agree with the examination system.

This presents an interesting problem for discussion, especially from the educator's point of view.

Ever since the T'ang Dynasty there has been a system of public competitive examinations in our country. But towards the close of the Manchu regime, it was strongly condemned by public

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opinion as being inadequate, and it was in fact abolished in 1905.

Now, some of our modern reformers are of the opinion that the present system of school examinations should also be abolished, but I have grave doubts over this proposal. I firmly believe that school examinations should be maintained, although the ways in which they are conducted might be improved.

To begin with, I might say that I am a student, one of those who failed in his University entrance examination; and yet I do not favor their abolition. For examinations are a test of the student's attainments, and if there were no such examinations, how could the University select its students from among the thousands at applicants?

JO-SAN CHEN.

Yenchow, Chekiang
September 13, 1948

Bewildered Reader

To The Editor:

Your editorial under the heading, "Mutually Misinformed—I" in the *Review* of September 25 concerning the poor reception in America of Major-General Chiang Ching-kuo's strong speeches warning Shanghai speculators, hoarders and super rich is very bewildering to me.

The majority of opinion in China has great respect for young Chiang for the great service he is rendering the nation. So far everything has gone well. Prices are stabilized, speculation and hoarding are being eliminated to a large extent and everybody, at least in Shanghai, is living a happier life than he did before August 19.

Without such drastic measures as young Chiang has carried out, a plan to stabilize prices is utterly impossible. If we appreciate how much hoarded goods there is in Shanghai we would soon understand that the rapid deterioration of the CNC was largely due to the manipulations of hoarders and speculators.

China is China and we don't care what other people say or how they criticize us for their own benefit as long as any reform benefits our country.

We wish that you would kindly express your own opinion or request your American friends to do so as to what is wrong with the plans being carried out for price stabilization. Please suggest some better and more effective plan!

LEE YEE-YUEN.

Shanghai
September 27, 1948

Review's Lost

To The Editor:

Before I ask you a question, I want to say 'many thanks' for the past three months of the *Review*. Besides learning much, I have had the truth of the news, which is lacking in other magazines. I am especially interested in 'Letters From the People,' the editorials, and 'News of the Week.' The first helps us to understand the present plight of this country and the suffering of her people, while the other two present a clear picture of the chaos reigning in the Government.

On August 21, I received an expiration notice from you, and in order not to miss any issues of the *Review*, I immediately posted my renewal check but have received no copies as yet, which disappointed me very much. Possibly they were lost in the Post Office, or my copies weren't mailed. Since I am a very poor student, this amount of money was a heavy burden for me. Please reply or send me the *Review* as soon as possible.

TING HUNG MU.

Lanchow, Kansu
September 18, 1948

Amazed!

To The Editor:

I was amazed to run across the original article, "The Wallace Party" in the August 7 issue of the "Nation" from which quotes were taken in your English Lesson of October 2. Any resemblance between the general contents of the article and the quotations used by your English Lesson was purely coincidental.

True, the quotations were accurate, except that they were pulled out of context and seemed to deliberately attempt to give the impression that the author, Mr. Howard K. Smith, thought the convention of the Progressive Party in the United States was one grand farce.

A more accurate quotation from the article to show Mr. Smith's point of view is the following:

"The most impressive feature of the convention was, however, not its quantity but its quality. At the Big Two conventions, discussion and decision were on personalities. At the Progressive Party convention, they were on issues. That fact alone raised it several degrees above its predecessors on the scale of intelligence. For a gathering reported to consist mainly of cranks and crackpots, the discussion itself was highly intelligent....."

Perhaps it is out of place in an English Lesson to worry about the contents of the lesson. However, if I were Mr. Smith, I would be far from happy at the way my very good article was misinterpreted in the quotations chosen for the English Lesson.

T. T.

Shanghai
October 5, 1948

Thought Control

To The Editor:

Owing to the eight years of resistance against the Japanese, all are now in need. The educated and straightforward man worries about the present chaos and confusion.

Now I touch upon our educational conditions. In the summer vacation, hundreds and thousands of students in various provinces who graduated from different middle schools came to participate in the National University Entrance Examination. They failed in their enthusiastic attempts, mostly because of getting zero marks in mathematics and English. I saw in *Ta Kung Pao* that "some students mistranslated 'radio' as 'piano' and 'article' and 'chapter' as 'artist' and 'carpenter.'"

Our schoolmates in the highest classes have not yet begun to write compositions. Are unqualified English teachers responsible for this tragic and surprising condition?

Our school has an old teacher who is district counsellor and concurrently a member of the Kuomintang. This stubborn man always talks to us severely in order to eliminate our student thoughts.

The Central Government issued an order to perpetuate the "Communist Suppression Movement," while we claimed that the school authorities should throw him out so that we could learn firmly and thoroughly.

C. H. HU.

Ningpo, Chekiang
September 16, 1948

Speculators...Again

To The Editor:

In this world, in my opinion, there is no other man who is so evil and deeply guilty as the egoistic profiteer manipulating the market and raising commodity prices illegally. He brings the people untold pains and society much confusion. There is a concrete fact to

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prove this right in this city—Changsha, in Hunan.

During every semester of all the schools in this city, the rice dealers, as a rule, raise the price of rice higher than usual, for the purpose of exacting money from the poor students.

As far as the government school is concerned, each term every student must pay a sum of some four piculs of rice for his tuition, lodging, boarding and incidentals, exclusive of text-books. Of course, it is a good opportunity for the rice-dealers to speculate. A week ago, one picul of rice cost GY13.2, but it has now mounted to the sum of GY20 or so.

And meanwhile, it is known to all that the overwhelming majority of students are supported by their fathers, some of whom are inferior public servants with such ridiculously low salaries that they cannot solve the severe problems of daily life. Some of the fathers are poor farmers living from hand to mouth. Such being the case, certainly it is also too hard for them to send their children to school.

On this account, we can scarcely tell how many poor students are forced out of school and cannot fulfill their desires for knowledge.

But who has created such a rueful misfortune on earth? And who should be responsible for it.....?

I am of the view that the profiteers must be dealt a smart blow or even executed when necessary, without any hesitation, if we have a passionate desire to stabilize China's economy.

How many blows has the provincial government of Hunan given the avaricious and illegal rice-dealers? Is there any effective step to prevent commodity prices from soaring? How can the credit of the new currency system be set up? How can the livelihood of the people reach a resolution?

Under such circumstances, we cannot but heave a deep sigh for the prospects of China's economy.

H. C. KIANG.

Changsha, Hunan
September 18, 1948

Unfit Teacher

To The Editor:

As an ordinary reader of the *Review* I wish to tell you of a shameful thing which has happened in my university. I hope you will make my letter public.

This man has been a professor in the Chinese department for one year. When the present president, who is usually guilty of slight exaggeration, introduced him to us at the beginning of the last school year, we were told that he was a famous professor in modern Chinese literature and had had a wealth of experience in teaching. We students all had a good impression of him through this pretty introduction at that time. But now we have found out what sort of stuff he is made of and how much knowledge he has. We don't think he is entitled to be called a professor. He not only conducts himself immorally but he also has formed the worst habit, namely *smoking opium*. It is very shameful that a professor who is responsible for the education of youth should smoke opium, a practice which has already been prohibited by law for a long time.

We do not understand why he does not get dismissed. It is said that he has some indirect relationship with the present president. Apparently he has strong "backing" and "connections." No student, I think, wants him to continue teaching during the next semester. In fact, the sooner he gets away from the university, the better.

H. T. T.

National University of Amoy
September 27, 1948

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Vol. III Shanghai, Saturday, October 9, 1948 No. 6

Dust In The Eyes

A COUPLE of weeks ago we wrote an editorial commenting upon the current agitation in Chinese official circles about the reported "independence movement" in Taiwan. Our comment was brought about by a press agency dispatch from Tokyo of most dubious authenticity which reported a first class separatist movement brewing. This story was denied in Nanking with considerable heat. At this point we added our opinion, for whatever it was worth.

Since then, the discussion seems to have become considerably more complicated and vitriolic. Our editorial, for example, has been reprinted and used in a manner which does not entirely represent our point of view. We said that we thought that such talk of an independence movement was somewhat exaggerated; that there had been an independence movement in the past but that we thought it had pretty well died down, resulting in a movement for better government and a reasonable share in such a government by the Taiwanese. We further said that while we thought independence out of the question, China was asking for more trouble and, possibly, a new revolt and revived struggles for independence if she did not improve her administration of Taiwan. We also said we thought that the administration of Wei Tao-ming was better than that of Chen Yi, but that there was still room for considerable improvement.

In some circles we have been represented as saying that the improvement we believed necessary had already been accomplished. However, what we said and what we are said to have said are of no great importance. Anyone making speeches or writing editorials must regard slight misinterpretations or deliberate "twisting" of words by partisans as an occupational hazard.

What is interesting, though, is the general stir made by the original press story from Tokyo, which, as we have already said, looked rather suspicious. One or two allegations carried in the story, such as the one claiming that the Taiwanese were a hybrid race not related to any of the peoples of the Pacific, can be explained only as Japanese propaganda. The statement is demonstrably incorrect. In fact it is so clearly false that we wonder why the writer of the story did not spot it and, if he wished to use it, clearly give the source or express some qualification. A news story admittedly is no place for editorializing but it also should not be the place for dissemination—without some qualification—of obviously distorted Jap propaganda.

Nanking's original reply, as we mentioned in our first editorial, was also interesting in that it was so heated, and was a good example of a classic reply from the Dragon Throne.

The latest developments include a denunciation of the "Independence Movement," by obviously Chinese sources in Japan and a rumored threat from Nanking to protest to SCAP for allowing the independence movement to flourish in Japan. The fact that two weeks ago Nanking denied that such an independence movement existed apparently does not prevent Nanking from now protesting against its existence.

The reason that we suspect the second Tokyo story to be from Chinese sources is simply because the denials are the same in nature and in language to those made in the past officially by Nanking. However, this story goes on to say that an independence movement does exist in the form of a smuggling ring which espouses the cause of independence to cover up its illegal activities, thus intimating that independence slogans are popular among the islanders. While we have not been under the impression that there really is any serious independence activity, Chinese circles in Japan evidently think otherwise. If they are correct and our assumption is wrong, it would then stand to reason that our other premise—that the present Chinese administration leaves something to be desired—is correct.

One particular point which we would like to question is the implication—by an undisclosed source—that a "third power," namely, the United States, is involved in this business. It is not made clear just whether the US is supposed officially to be mixed up in smuggling or in an independence movement, or both, providing of course that either exist.

The second story, a *Central News Agency* dispatch, says, "One source who desired to remain anonymous, even darkly hinted that the movement is partly fanned by 'third nationals.' He pointed out a significant fact that the agitators in Hongkong, of whom the most notorious (is) American-educated Thomas L. W. Liao, leader of the so-called 'Formosan League of Reemancipation,' are mostly refugees helped out of Taiwan by (a) 'certain foreign vice-consul' in March last year shortly after the February 28 uprising in Taiwan."

This paragraph is nothing but a tissue of lies, to put it bluntly, and *Central News* should be ashamed of itself for being so careless as to transmit as news something demonstrably false. In the first place the Mr. Liao

referred to was not in Taiwan at the time of the riots. He was in Shanghai where he could have been interviewed by any newspaperman who wished to take the trouble. He was not "helped out of Taiwan by a 'certain foreign vice-consul.'" He bought a ticket and traveled in the same manner as any other Chinese citizen.

Further, it is not true that a "certain foreign (read American) vice-consul" helped any "refugees" out of Taiwan. The island was full of troops bayonetting and shooting people at random and the foreign diplomatic corps, with the exception of two American vice-consuls, who, at the risk of being shot, with two other foreigners toured the city of Taipeh taking pictures of the slaughter, were huddled indoors ducking stray bullets. The action of these four foreigners, who raced about in jeeps as much of the time as possible, spending several nearly sleepless days and nights, and observed a great deal of what happened, has bothered Chinese officialdom very much, especially since they did take some pictures.

The fact that these pictures are known to be in existence, although they have never been released, either by the American diplomatic authorities or the vice-consuls personally, has been a matter of concern in "certain quarters" for the past year and a half. When we were in Taiwan just as the suppression ended, these pictures were a source of extreme curiosity to all, even to officials who during interviews were wont to allude to them, apparently hoping to get some idea from us as to their nature and extent.

All of this talk about "third nationals" and a "certain foreign vice-consul" is merely a device whereby it is hoped a little dust may be thrown in people's eyes so that they may miss sight of the fact that there are many reliable foreign eyewitnesses, including consular personnel, missionaries, businessmen and American advisors to the Chinese Government, who personally witnessed one of the most shameful chapters of modern Chinese history. If Chinese authorities, unofficially of course, can implant in the public mind the idea that Uncle Sam wants to grab Taiwan from China, then any statements by these American eyewitnesses regarding Governor General Chen Yi's misrule of Taiwan may be discounted.

* * *

AT this point the whole situation seems to be a bit confused, with various people, including ourselves, sticking their oars into the controversy. A dispatch from Tokyo claims the Taiwanese have an underground independence movement. Nanking denies that such an independence movement exists. Tokyo then claims that the movement exists, but only as a "cover operation" for smugglers and, in the same breath, says the US is involved, either in smuggling or in the independence movement which may or may not exist. Nanking replies again by saying it plans to protest to SCAP; whether over the independence movement, the smuggling or American involvement in one or both, if either exists, no one knows.

We have possibly added to the confusion with our observations, but of one thing we are certain. That is that the Taiwanese have had a very poor deal at China's hands in the past and that although conditions are now better than a year ago, the Taiwanese still are not getting the treatment they deserve as inhabitants of China's most modern and, perhaps, richest province.

How To Halt Communism

THE question of how to halt Communism, or more specifically, how to halt the Chinese Communists in their march across China, is one which a great many people are trying to answer these days. The Kuomintang Government has been seeking the answer for about 20 years. At times during this period, it seemed to have about hit upon the solution, but at other times, such as at the present moment, it appears that the various methods employed by the Government have not been entirely successful.

Both within and without the Government many Chinese have offered their ideas. Some groups, such as the Democratic League and the so-called Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, believe the solution lies in effecting some sort of compromise with the Communists. They hold that the Reds are too important and too big to be excluded. What's more, they profess agreement with some of the Communists' ideas and programs. There are others who believe there is no answer and who sit and wait for the "inevitable" day when the Communist forces triumph over those of the KMT.

Within the Government may be found many expressions of opinion. Some believe the Government can still crush the Reds by military strength alone, but their number is not so great as in the past. Others believe the solution lies in a return to "orthodox" Confucianism, that the present plight of the Government is a direct result of straying from the tried and true path of morality as laid down by the ancient sage and his present day interpreters. Still others, espousing a creed composed of a mixture of modern socialism and ancient Chinese ideas of Government control, believe a form somewhat related to the corporate state will save China from the Reds. Then, of course, there are the reformers who believe that solely by wiping out corruption, improving efficiency and by streamlining things generally a solution may be found.

It is of course only natural that there should be increasing expression of differing ideas as to the best method of "solving" the Communist problem as the situation in this country deteriorates, since it becomes clear to all that past methods have failed. Chinese reproach one another, saying that the present critical situation has arisen because the other fellow's advice was followed. Some are wont to blame the Russians, claiming that if it were not for Russia the problem would never have arisen, while still others belabor the United States, saying that it is America's fault because she has not given sufficient aid to the Nationalist Government.

Out of these conflicting ideas certain paths of action are beginning to emerge. In China there appears to be a realization of the seriousness of the situation and this has brought a series of reform edicts from the Generalissimo. If all behaved exactly as the Generalissimo says they should, it is likely that the Government's position could be improved considerably. However, it is as yet impossible to tell just how seriously these "reforms" will be taken by officialdom and the public. Past experience has taught us that such edicts are promulgated with a great fanfare and show of force, but that since no one, official or civilian, enjoys having his freedom of action curtailed, they are short lived. Admittedly, though the latest reforms are nearly two months old now and are yet taken quite seriously, still more time is needed to judge them adequately.

From America, too, there is evidence of a certain change in opinion as to how best the Chinese Communists may be checked. Each new aid mission which comes to China insists upon greater authority in administering its respective programs. Slowly Washington has come to disregard China's claim for complete control over such aid programs because experience has proved that none has been as effective as it should have been. The Chinese Government, it would seem, has reluctantly consented, undoubtedly because of the urgent need of aid and the realization that, unlike the immediate postwar period when Nanking's prestige was at an all time high, such concessions have to be made in order to get more aid.

This is an extremely touchy point since it involves China's sovereignty and our conclusions are almost certain to be denied by both Chinese and American officialdom. However, one has only to observe the vast difference in the internal workings of, say, UNRRA, and the current ECA Mission in order to see how things have changed.

While this increased American participation in the internal affairs of China may well bring about a larger measure of efficiency, especially since it is being coordinated with the present vigorous control program laid down by Nanking, the end result is difficult to foretell. Although American members of the ECA are being given greater voices of authority in the handling of US assistance, cooperation, on the lower levels especially, may not be as good as it should be, since the CNRRA boondoggling habit is still strong and also because there is bound to be a certain amount of psychological reaction to the idea of the Americans being "boss."

Also worth noting is the opinion currently voiced in American official circles regarding the ways and means of selecting the exact type of activity thought by these same Americans to be most likely to improve the Nationalists' chances in the Civil War. While the view that direct military aid and supplementary economic support are good methods is still held, there is also a trend in American thinking which may result in attempts to alter the Chinese social system in such a fashion that some of the present difficulties may not again arise. This is an ambitious task and one which can easily end in failure. However, it is interesting to note that official American thinking about China is now going a little deeper than before. In the past the general view was that China was in a mess and that if she were given a certain amount of money she could buy herself out of hock and start over. Repeated failure of this method apparently has caused Washington to look a little deeper and to understand that the present organization of Chinese society is partly responsible for these recurring "messes" and that periodic gifts of money and materials is not the sole answer.

The newly-established Chinese-US Commission on Rural Reconstruction appears to be a result of this thinking. The Mission, part of the ECA program for China, has two American and three Chinese members, thus preserving the appearance of Chinese control. However, it is thought that the Mission will function like the other sections of ECA in that final control will rest with the Americans.

The Mission will attempt to combat Communist influence "by improving conditions in rural China," the American members have stated. In accomplishing this, it will investigate and try to determine how improvement may be made in such basic matters as administration of land laws, the relation between tenant and landowners, tax collection, military recruitment, public health and rural education. The work will last several years. The program is to start cautiously in a small way in areas where cooperation of Chinese officials is promised, it is said.

We can think of no more interesting project, since it is precisely at this "basic" level that many of the ancient practices and traditions of China must be attacked if this nation is to reorganize itself in such a manner as to fit into the modern world. It is also at this level that one may expect to find the greatest resistance to change.

While we are not offering any suggestions as to how Communism can be stopped in China, nor making any bets as to the probable success of the new methods, we do think the present plans are rather more realistic than any others we have seen since VJ Day.

Economy Of Scarcity

THE attempts of Major General Chiang Ching-kuo to break up the yellow ox gangs operating at the Shanghai Fish Market by increasing the supply of fresh fish to the point that the city will be flooded, serves to illustrate the extremely primative economic thinking that goes on in some circles here.

The coastal and deep sea fishing industry of this port is controlled by the Fish Guild, an archaic organization which prospers largely because its monopolistic restriction of the market results in abnormally high prices. The idea of increasing its operations by employing more boats and personnel and thus creating an enlarged market through greater sales at lower prices is apparently distasteful to the Guild. A

program of modernization which would enable the Guild members to accomplish such a program is also frowned upon by the organization's leadership.

Following VJ Day, UNRRA investigated the condition of China's fishery industry and laid plans for the importation of modern deep sea fishing boats and other equipment which would enable China to modernize her fishing operations. There were many reasons why this was a sound program. Increased supplies of fish would aid this food deficit country greatly, by-products such as fertilizer, oils, etc. would also be a great boon to China. The ocean bordering the coasts was well stocked, especially since the war years had reduced fishing activities—particularly by the Japanese—to a minimum. With Japan's fishing fleet destroyed by the war and with post-war controls restricting its revival, a modern fishing industry in China might have been an important source of foreign exchange for this country.

However, the program bogged down in the usual bureaucratic red tape, the effectiveness of which was greatly enhanced by the active opposition of the Shanghai fish guild which preferred to continue operations on a medieval basis, creating a false economy of scarcity. Even today, scores of abandoned fishing boats purchased from abroad by UNRRA may be seen rotting at their moorings on Point Island.

Now it seems that Chiang Ching-kuo has decided to tackle the Fish Guild again, attempting to set aside the agreement forced on the Fisheries Rehabilitation Administration by the Guild limiting the catch brought to Shanghai by FRA boats. We cannot as yet foresee the results of this latest move against the monopolistic Fish Guild. There is evidence, however, that Chiang is prepared to take rather drastic steps. Already he is reported to have threatened to close the Fish Market, setting up a municipal supervised one at another location. The closure of this market would be a hard blow to the leadership of the Guild and the threat may be sufficient to bring it around to agreement with Chiang.

It is particularly interesting to note that while Chiang Ching-kuo's verbal attacks so far have been directed largely at the yellow ox gangs whose members queue up at the market well before daylight each morning and buy all the fish which they retail later throughout the city at outrageous prices, all the measures aimed at stamping out the yellow ox organizations are directed at breaking down the control of the Fish Guild. It is immediately apparent that the Fish Guild and the yellow ox gangs complement each other—both thrive in an economy of scarcity.

General Chiang Ching-kuo is up against a powerful group when he tackles the Fish Guild. Some of the individuals who have a hand in the fishing business are well known in Shanghai circles. If the Government is successful in its campaign to break the monopoly on fish held by these people, one of the oldest and strongest of the city's semi-legal "gangs" will be considerably reduced in power.

25 Years Ago In *The Weekly Review*

October 6, 1923

Missionaries And Businessmen

The necessity is for greater cooperation between the missionary and business communities. China is in a very serious situation at the present time and foreign businessmen are loud in their demands for improvements. The businessman who sees his profits dwindling because of internal disorder overlooks the fact that the missionary is also a sufferer—often a far greater sufferer—for the missionary lives in the interior and usually is without protection for his person and property. If the businessmen and missionaries would work together, a solution for the present Chinese political puzzle might be worked out. Working in opposite directions gets nowhere.

* * *

Not Our War

Japanese military men, dispassionately discussing the conduct of a war with the United States, discard the idea of putting troops on continental America. Hawaii is probably another matter, but the real American exposure is in the Philippines. One Japanese writer says the Japanese do not know how well the islands are fortified and that it probably would be a harder job than that at Gallipoli. We doubt that there is any uncertainty in the Japanese general staff regarding Philippine fortifications, but we know a complete defense against Japanese strategy. Give our little brown brothers what they say they want and what we said they should have—their independence. Japan may then get the islands more quickly, but it will not be our war.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

October 8, 1938

Migration To The South

Those of us who are in Shanghai or in the occupied territories are apt to take too pessimistic a view of the prospects of China. Everyday we receive alarming tidings about the ruthless destruction of life and property and acts of atrocity committed by the invading troops. Many of our relatives, friends and acquaintances have suffered severely. It is difficult for us, under these circumstances to be cool and to view the present trend of affairs in a true prespective. Some of our foreign friends, likewise, share the same depression and raise the question: "Whither China?" But.... If we turn our eyes to the southwestern provinces we can see encouraging signs of the growth of a new national life. In the past few months a great exodus has been going on from central and northern China to the Southwest. We are as yet too close to this event to be able to gauge its full significance, but we have good reason to believe that it is one of the great benefits China has derived from the present war.

* * *

"Perfect Union"

This year has opened a new era in the annals of Chinese history. The Chinese have now achieved a "Perfect Union" as that which was achieved by the Americans in their early revolutionary days. China is now a united China. But when this is headlined and discussed, observers generally mean the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party which had been at loggerheads for the past ten years. In fact, the national unification which has been accomplished goes far beyond that; it is more than an ordinary unification of two political parties in the western countries, or the formation of a coalition cabinet in wartime. It is a unification of the "Five Races in One Family," including many millions of tribesmen, aboriginies or *miao* on the frontier provinces.

CHINA GRAVITATES TO THE RIGHT

C. Y. W. Meng

OCTOBER 10 is our National Day. We Chinese all feel happy on this auspicious national occasion. We hold a nationwide celebration in commemoration of the success of our October Revolution which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty some 37 years ago, thus ending the monarchy in China.

But I think many patriotic and progressive citizens of the Republic will share with me the thought that amid our rejoicing, we, on seeing what is going on in the country today, cannot but heave a deep sigh. Despite our cheers and noise-making, inside our hearts there is always the burning question of *why* our country is in such a terrible and chaotic state, and *when* will China have peace and order.

China In Retrospect

The rise of constitutionalism in China was a marvel of the 19th century. But unfortunately, this young Republic of the Orient, instead of undergoing a period of reconstruction that would lead all other Asiatic nations to democracy, plunged at once into sanguinary civil war when various provincial "Tuchun," or warloads, fought among themselves for no less than 15 years. In 1927, with the successful conclusion of the People's Revolution and the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, a new and productive era should have been ushered in. But unfortunately, this period was also characterized by constant rifts and endless armed conflict between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party.

In 1937-45, our heroic War of Resistance against the Japanese was truly a glorious chapter in Chinese history. Thanks to the kind efforts of the late President Roosevelt, the century-old Unequal Treaties were abolished, not by years of endless negotiation, but by a stroke of the pen. All special privileges and foreign concessions, hitherto enjoyed by foreign nationals in China for 100 years, were abrogated. China became one of the four Big Powers. At the Teheran Conference, President Roosevelt was reported to have said that he was "fully cognizant" of the present weakness of China, and insisted that the Chinese must participate in the four-power declaration at Moscow because he was thinking far into the future and believed that it was better to have the 400 million people of China as friends rather than as enemies. (See Robert E. Sherwood's "The Secret Papers of Harry L. Hopkins" in *Collier's* for August 28, 1948, page 70.) In other words, the late American president placed his hope in us.

What a wonderful and golden opportunity for our national revival! Unfortunately, however, that opportunity was totally lost with the renewal of the Civil War. As a result of this loss, China's national prestige has sunk to a low ebb.

Throughout the past 20 years, the Kuomintang has been in power. But this "GOP" of China has suffered most tragically from three great shortcomings. First, the Kuomintang lags far behind the times. Both in its behavior and thought, the Kuomintang has shown unmistakably that it has failed to transform itself into a party of the 20th century. Secondly, in the past, the Kuomintang has done nothing worth mentioning for the Common Man in China. It has never attempted to mingle with the Common Man; on the contrary, it has always kept away from him. Thirdly, in the past, the Kuomintang has failed—failed most miserably—to carry out any portion of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings.

To The Right

In other words, this young Republic of the Orient has had a painful past history. We have allowed excellent opportunities for national

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revival and reconstruction to slip through our fingers one after another. We have consistently steered our course in the wrong direction. Our latest course is apparently a "Gravitation toward the Right."

There are many indications to show that Nanking has steered—and is still steering very decidedly—such a course. As for the American people, "*in their desire to counteract communism at any cost, American policy makers have sometime allied themselves with the extreme Right. America seems even to be willing to ally herself with former enemies and reactionary cliques in some countries simply because they scream loudest against communists*" (See "The True Meaning of the Iron Curtain" by Ernest O. Hauser in *The Saturday Evening Post*, November 8, 1947). China is apparently following the same course of action.

Chang Chun Mission To Tokyo

General Chang Chun, former Premier of China, left China recently for a tour of Japan. Although the General maintained that he went to Japan in a private capacity and had no official mission to fulfill, well-informed sources revealed that things were not quite so simple. Judging from his frequent meetings with the highest Allied and Japanese leaders, his round of speeches, and the length of his stay in Japan, there is no doubt that more was behind his visit than appeared on the surface.

It is significant to note that President Chiang Kai-shek sent General MacArthur, via Chang, a signed letter. One story had it that General Chang was arranging a meeting between the President and the SCAP chief. Another story alleged that the United States is actively carrying out a "Little Marshall Plan" in the East. The cornerstone of this plan, it is rumored, consists in banding China, Japan and Korea into an anti-Communist alliance to resist Russian expansion in the Orient.

Chen Li-fu Mission To US

Coupled with the Chang Chun mission to Tokyo, another important mission, headed by Mr. Chen Li-fu, Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, and leader of the so-called "CC Clique," a powerful and extreme Rightist group now virtually dominating the Legislative Yuan, was sent to the United States a short time ago. Mr. Chen was to attend the World Moral Rearmament Conference. But according to the current Chinese rumors, behind the trip abroad was his purpose of getting in touch with the leaders of the Republican Party in the United States in anticipation of the latter's success in the November election. Not long ago, Mr. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for the American presidency, showed up with a "Help China" speech.

Then came another report from *Time* Magazine which said that "the United States has secretly revised its views on China, although continuing to practice the 'Do Nothing' policy made popular by General George C. Marshall." According to *Time*, "the State Department has belatedly but definitely changed its stand on the necessity for a coalition government in China, and has finally come to the conclusion that China occupies a part in the world-wide struggle against communism." *Time* believes that testimony by such nationally-known figures as James V. Forrestal and General A. C. Wedemeyer was responsible for the change.

* * *

Domestically, Uncle Sam, in his determination to combat communism, is imposing various restrictions on the civil liberties of his people even to a point of bordering on a Police state. Under the present Truman Administration, "dissent becomes disloyalty." In China, a similar situation exists.

An all-out drive against subversive elements is already in full swing. On August 17, the Executive Yuan, in one of the most drastic steps ever taken since the Communist Suppression Campaign began, issued instructions to security and garrison authorities all over the country to search private residences without warrants, to prohibit labor strikes and student demonstrations and to hold officials of schools and other public organizations responsible for information of subversive activities, etc.

A Government spokesman explained that the Executive Yuan's order was based on existing laws, and had been approved by the President; therefore, there was no need to refer it to the Legislative Yuan for approval. But to many observers, this

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is tantamount to "government by decree."

Acting under these instructions from the Executive Yuan, the Special Criminal Courts in Nanking, Peiping, Chungking, Tientsin, Canton and other leading cities got busy issuing warrants for the arrest of suspected Communists. According to press reports, by the end of August, 147 students in Nanking, 324 in Peiping and 40 in Tientsin had been summoned to appear before the Special Criminal Courts to answer charges of subversive activities. A large number of such suspects are reported to have already been placed under lock and key, causing widespread panic among the students and professors. In Shanghai, 100 Communist suspects were rounded up or charged with plotting to destroy certain important public installations and another blacklist of 300 persons is rumored.

"Subversive Of What?"

In an excellent article entitled "Subversive of What?" published in the August, 1948 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, Julian P. Boyd, a historian and editor who is now editing some 50 volumes of Thomas Jefferson's papers to be published by the Princeton University Press, shows himself as perhaps one of very few Americans today who has the courage to ask this question. After quoting the words of the late President Thomas Jefferson which are carved on one of the three great monuments now standing in the American national capital, i.e., *"I have sworn upon the alter of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man,"* the writer pointed out to the American people that the philosophy of Jefferson and his compatriots was that "the Union is indissolubly linked with the cause of liberty." He further pointed out that throughout Jefferson's private thinking and public acts, his philosophy was shown to be that *"he believed mankind is capable of making progress, but only if men were free to know their rights and privileges. The people must be free to form their own opinions and to exercise their native reason untrammeled by authority."* The following quotations from Thomas Jefferson are worth our own study:

"If there are any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

"Can one generation bind another and all others in succession forever? I think not. The Creator has made the earth for the living, not the dead. A generation may bind itself as long as its majority continues in life; when that has disappeared, another majority is in place, holds all the rights and powers their predecessors once held and may change their laws and institutions to suit themselves. Nothing then is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

"In every country where man is free to think and speak, differences of opinion will arise from differences

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of preception, and the imperfection of reason; that these differences when permitted, as in this happy country, to purify themselves by free discussion, are but as passing clouds overspreading our land transiently and leaving our horizon more bright and serene."

I, too, wished to asked the same question "Subversive of What?"—in China. I, too, intended to dig on to find out the answer. However, I have abandoned my attempt. The reason is that Mr. Liu Pu-tung, a member of the Legislative Yuan, in his most outspoken letter of September first to the President of the Executive Yuan Wong Wen-hao, has answered for me.

After informing the President of the Executive Yuan that the mass arrest of students has caused widespread panic in many schools, Mr. Liu pointed out that "to inquire into national affairs through speech, press and other actions by the young students is the endowed duty of citizens. The intention of the students is only to hope that the Government will bring about some improvement of the situation."

Dwelling on the infiltration of the so-called "professional students" into the schools, Mr. Liu believed that the number was not many, and that "the number of professional students belonging to the Communist Party will not exceed that of the professional students belonging to the Kuomintang." As for the rest of the students, he said, they are neither Communists nor Kuomintang members. These young students, simply on seeing that national affairs are going from bad to worse day by day, and that what the Government has done is by no means satisfactory to the people, "cannot but stand up to criticize the Government and redress their grievances. But unexpectedly, the Government, instead of resorting to self-criticism, condemns them as a movement instigated by the Communists," explained Mr. Liu.

This Legislative member further pointed out that the Government's action is based mostly on evidence produced by the students on the Government side or on evidence manufactured by students who have entertained ill-feelings toward certain other students. "The Government, without examining the facts, at once condemns these students as 'Bandits,' arrests them and tortures them."

Present State Of Education

But the story does not stop there. The present state of education in China is definitely shameful. There has been little improvement in education for a long time. There is no free education. But there is every sign of party interference in education.

Time and Culture (a magazine published in Shanghai, now ordered to cease publication by the Ministry of Interior) in its issue of August 6, reported a "leakage of question papers for the entrance examination to Chungking University when about 6,000 applicants refused to take the

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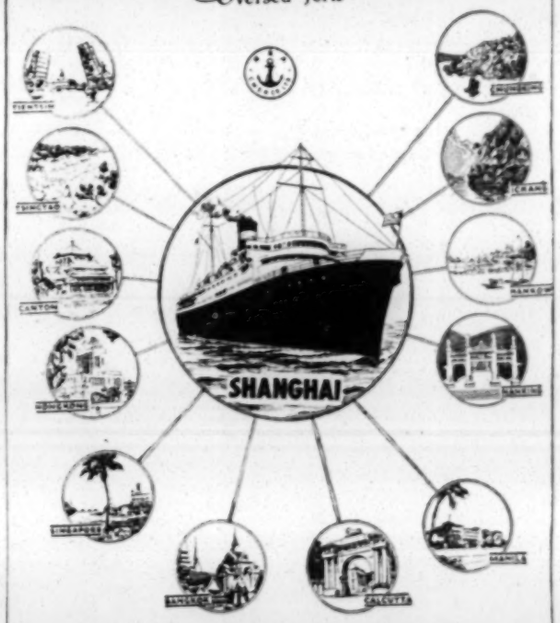

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examination, and demanded an explanation by the university authorities." (see page 15) In a "Letter-to-the-Editor" published in the August 7, 1948, issue of *The Observer* (another weekly magazine in Chinese published in Shanghai), one writer, quoting what he saw of an announcement signed by a group of the alumni of Chungking University, reported that the leakage of the question papers was attributable to the head of the Special Servicemen whose sole motive was to admit more Special Servicemen to the University. How true this report is we have no way of knowing. The incident was followed by the arrest of two university students by the Chungking Garrison Headquarters. The same writer believed that these arrests were closely connected with the attack on the Special Serviceman.

In Hangchow we heard another story about the beating and "trial" of a Chekiang University student, Li Hsi-hwei, by trainees of a summer camp established by the Youth Department, where Li was forced to sign by fingerprint a prepared affidavit. Li was later sent to the police station under various charges of being a spy and a bandit where he was detained for two days and one night before release. (See "The Arrest of the Chekiang University Students" by "S. Y." in *The Observer* of September 18, 1948, page 17).

I think I can stop here, for the story is too long to be told in full. What I want to reaffirm is that the "Gravitation toward the Right" is *no solution*, neither to Uncle Sam nor to his nephew. As was pointed out by Mr. Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in America, who has been fighting the communists in the American labor movement for the past quarter of a century, "*As a democrat, I believe that our strongest defense against totalitarianism consists of a sound equitable economy. I believe that the way to beat the communists is not by speeches and bullets, but by offering people something better—a democracy that really works.*" (See "If We Pull Together" by Philip Murray in *The American Magazine* and condensed in the August 1948 issue of *The Reader's Digest*, pp. 10-14). To me, to build up such "a democracy that really works" in China is of tremendous importance; and is, in fact, far more important than the present Communist Suppression Campaign.

New Intellectual Ferment

Whenever I visit bookshops and public reading rooms, I always see a big crowd of people, either buying or busily reading books and magazines. Despite present hard times and economic stringency, many new publications have gained a large circulation. The more nonpartisan and impartial the publication, the quicker is its circulation gain. *The Observer*, *The Century Critic*, *The Reconstruction*, *The New Road* and *The University Review*—to mention only a few—are all new and liberal publications, edited and managed by nonpartisans and professors, and all have a large circulation. It is most gratifying to note that because of a series of studies published in it, *The Observer* has had to print two or three editions in rapid succession in order to meet the demand.

To me, this is definitely a happy and healthy sign of the growth of the nation. To me, this is conclusive evidence to show that there is a great thirst *for knowledge, for truth, for something new, for progress* and *for change* among the Chinese people, particularly, among the young people. To me, this thirst is a big national asset for the building of "a democracy that really works" in China. To me, any decent government should prize such a reservoir as an asset, and should hope for its early completion and aid its construction in every possible way.

In my opinion, China would be making a big stride toward democracy, if she abandoned the present "Gravitation Policy," moving not toward the Right or Left, but toward a new and progressive *Freedom for the People*. A policy following the march of the times will do much to settle internal conditions, while a policy against the times is sure to meet great opposition from the people and to bring about a greater disaster to the nation.

China's Foreign Policy

Turning to our foreign policy, I shall state with conviction and sincerity that China never should choose sides. China has nothing to gain and everything to lose if she does decide to choose sides. China must not be so shortsighted and stupid as to permit the revival of her traditional enemy —Japan—at the present moment simply because, as discussed in an editorial of *The China Press*, "the Chinese Government has come to the conclusion that it must make a choice between two necessary evils—the threat of growing communism in this country and that of a revamped Japan." China must be fully aware that the Japanese, in surrendering to the Allies, in agreeing to observe all the directives of SCAP, in leaving China and Taiwan, and in bowing down before the Chinese today, has in his heart a secret wish to return to power.

Lieutenant-General Seishiro Itagaki, the Japanese Commander at Singapore, for example, said: "We hope peace will last for 20 years and then we will be back again." In handing over their keys to new Chinese residents, the Japanese departing from Taiwan frequently say, "Keep the key for me until my return."

This language is not the language of threat. It is a revelation, in an unguarded moment, of a secret wish. Since the Japanese have been boasting of their military prowess all along, they do not easily lay down their arms without some serious *arrierepensee*. When Japanese representatives signed the surrender documents on board the U.S.S. "Missouri" and in Nanking, a mind-reader would have been able to see that behind their impenetrable countenances they were vowing to stage a comeback and wage a war of revenge for the glorification of their Empire and Emperor. We have no objection to being generous to a vanquished foe. But if the latter is known to harbor secret thoughts of revenge even at the moment of conciliation, it is the duty of the victor to protect himself from further molestation by keeping his opponent at arm's length.

Same Japanese

Both China and America must know that the Japanese who are talking about democracy today are the same people who committed atrocities during the past war years. There is no reason to think that under similar circumstances they would not act the same way again. Never believe that General MacArthur can perform a miracle as to transform such a traditionally arrogant people as the Japanese into a democratic people in three short years!

To me, the alternative before China is not one of choosing the lesser of two evils, but is of realizing that the true way to keep Japan (and Germany) under control is to preserve the Four-Power unity which the late President Roosevelt prized so much. So long as such unity exists there is no chance for the Japanese to realize their secret wish to stage a comeback. On the other hand, so long as the USA-USSR tension lasts, the Japanese know that their Day is coming soon. So long as the "fratricidal war continues in China, the Japanese can hopefully predict that the chance for world conquest is again coming to them.

Our only way out lies first in preserving Big-Power unity. Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in attending the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, should leave no stone unturned in achieving the revival of Big-Power unity. Our Foreign Minister should cease talking about peace talks with Japan under the present circumstances, nor should he seek for a Chiang-MacArthur meeting, but rather should he work toward the holding of a more historic Truman-Chiang-Stalin-Bevin meeting in the very near future. However, in order to play this role of belonging to a Big Power, China must quickly put her own house in order.

I may add here that the recent currency reform would have performed a great miracle had it been preceded or accompanied by a cease fire order. I may further point out that the stability of a currency cannot depend on police measures alone, but must depend more on the establishment of public confidence in it. The recent currency reform must be quickly followed by other political and economic reforms and other *constructive steps*, such as the development of industry and commerce and the promotion of industrial production, without which no economist could entertain an optimist outlook. But none of these steps are possible so long as the war goes on.

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Southern Climate And The Chinese

Chang Chuen-tsuen

THE southern climate of China is deadly to the Chinese race. This is the conclusion which must be drawn from the observations and facts which I shall present in the course of this article. They will show that any intelligent race which stays long enough in a tropical or semi-tropical geographical environment cannot have a physical and mental development comparable to that of northern races. This is because the southern climate accelerates the breakdown of the human organism.

According to an analysis of Chinese blood groups, the race as a whole has originated from the same stock. Since northerners and southerners are of the same stock, if there is any appreciable difference in the average height and weight of the two groups, it can be assumed to be due to environment, rather than heredity. During the past 30 years, 32 medical doctors have made collective studies of heights and weights in various parts of China. They have measured and weighed 10,863 persons, and their readings according to geographical area are as follows: In North China, man's average height was found to be 169.2 cm, and his average weight, 59.8 kilo. In Central China, the average height was 165.1 cm. and weight, 52.6 kilo. In South China, man's average height was 163 cm. and his average weight, 50.4 kilo. In other words, man in Central China is 4.1 cm. shorter than in the north and 2.1 cm. taller than in the south. His weight is 7.2 kilo. less than that of man in the north and is 2.2 kilo. more than that of man in the south. There is a total difference of 6.2 cm. in the average height of the northerner and southerner, and a difference of 9.4 kilo. in their weight.

The same difference exists in regard to women. The southern woman is, on the average, 6.6 cm shorter than her northern sister, and some 4.5 kilo. lighter. Women's pelvis seems to show a difference also. From obstetrical records kept over the past 30 years on some 17,331 cases throughout China, it can be seen that pelvic diameters decrease in harmony with overall height and weight the further south one goes.

Food Important Cause

What is the cause of the undeniable physical degeneration that occurs in southern climates? Environmental factors such as temperature, humidity, parasites, bacteria and food are interwoven in a united front to deteriorate the human organism in different ways. Probably one of the most important elements is the southern food. The human bony system is composed of calcium, phosphus and vitamin D. If the supply of calcium is limited, the human skeleton will be smaller and lighter. The Chinese, who has lived in an agricultural civilization for some 5,000 years, has forgotten practically all the food habits of the nomadic life, such as milk drinking. This has been a blow to his physical well-being, for he must depend for his calcium on vegetables and cereals alone. Plants extract calcium from the soil. Because rainfall is less in the north, calcium is more readily retained in the soil of the northern regions. In the south, the heavy rainfall has caused most of the calcium to be washed away, either into the rivers or into the depths of the soil where plant roots cannot penetrate.

Bacteria and parasites flourish in moist, warm climates. There are countless diseases which are more prevalent in southern regions than in northern areas. These include malaria, different forms of dysentery, and various fevers. The carriers of these diseases—mosquitoes, flies and so forth—flourish in the south as well.

That the human organism becomes weakened by exposure to southern climate and conditions is attested to by the incidence of tuberculosis in

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southern regions. In Peiping in 1924, a Dr. Korn tested 2,049 individuals for tuberculosis and found that out of that number 631 had the disease, an incidence of almost 30 percent. In Shanghai in 1933, a Dr. Lai tested 4,703 cases and found that 2,821 of them showed positive results, an incidence of 60 percent. Other studies tend to indicate a higher rate of infection in the south than in the north. The physical examination made by the Ministry of Education in 1931 showed the health of students in four different regions to be as follows:

1. Peiping University had 1,632 students examined. Of these, 1,097 were found to be in first class health and 535 in poor health.
2. Northeastern University in Manchuria had 1,975 students examined. Of these, 1,339 were found to be in first class health, and 636 in poor health.
3. Szechuan University had 1,608 students examined, of which only 499 were found to be in first class health. 1,109, a little over two-thirds, were found to be in poor health.
4. Central University in Nanking had 1,285 students examined, of which only 278 were found to be in first-class health, leaving 1,007 cases of poor health, or more than three-fourths of the total.

In other words, in the first two universities, both located in the north, the incidence of poor health was approximately one-third. In the latter two universities, located in hot humid Central China, more than two-thirds of the students were found to be in poor health. The factor of climate must certainly enter into these figures.

Childbirth More Difficult

We have shown from a comparison of height and weight that the southern climate tends to retard the normal growth of the Chinese race. However, there is an apparently contradictory phenomenon which has been discovered only recently. That is that babies born in the south tend to be heavier, longer and have a larger fetal head than those born in the north. Records kept by 10 doctors for the past 30 years show, out of 9,562 cases, the average height of the northern infant at birth to be 49.51 cm., while the average height of the infant born in the south is 50.70, a difference of 1.19 cm. The average weight of the baby born in the south was found to be 40.66 gm. more than his cousin born in the north; while measurements made of fetal heads showed that in four out of the five kinds of diameter measurement the head of the southern baby was larger. Coupled with this fact is the unfortunate one that pelvic measurements of the women of the south are smaller than those of their northern sisters, thus rendering childbirth both more difficult and more dangerous.

An explanation of the larger babies of the south may be found in the high temperature and high humidity of southern regions, which tend to over-stimulate bio-chemical reactions within the human organism. Ordinarily, every increase of 10 degrees Centigrade accelerates the rate of bio-chemical reactions from one to two times. Temperature is also intimately related to enzyme reaction within the body. Using enzymes of a certain protein as an illustration, we find that at zero Centigrade 180 minutes are required for digestion, while at 50 degrees Centigrade the protein is digested in 10 minutes. In other words, the hotter the climate, the more powerful is the enzyme reaction and the quicker the digestion.

The cruelty of the southern climate is further expressed in the figures for infant mortality. Let us take Chau and Wright's studies as an illustration. At Canton Hospital they made a survey of 2,291 families. There were, within the given period, 4,929 conceptions, 448 miscarriages, 111 still births, 4,330 live births and 2,146 deaths. The mortality rate was 495 per 1,000!

Among adults in the south, the same high death rate prevails. In this connection, it would be worth our while to study briefly the life-span tables of the Asia Life Insurance Company of Shanghai. The accompanying table is the result of their careful and thorough research.

LIFE-SPAN OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN CHINESE

Age	per 1000	No. of deaths	Average death rate	N. deaths %	S. deaths %
20	1,000	10	1.0%	0.7 %	1.2%
25	1,000	12	1.2%	0.9 %	1.5%
30	1,000	14	1.4%	1.10%	1.7%
35	1,000	17	1.7%	1.40%	2.0%
40	1,000	22	2.2%	1.80%	2.5%
45	1,000	28	2.8%	2.2 %	3.4%
50	1,000	35	3.5%	2.8 %	4.2%
55	1,000	45	4.5%	3.5 %	5.5%
60	1,000	60	6.0%	4.5 %	7.5%

Northern Life-Span Longer

The above table shows that the life-span of northerners is longer than that of southerners. For every 1,000 men of 40 years of age, there are 18 deaths in the north and 25 in the south; for every 1,000 men of 50 years of age, there are 28 deaths in the north and 42 in the south; for men of 60, the ratio is 45 to 75. Unquestionably, climate has something to do with the matter.

With all the dangers to the human system indicated above, the present migration of many of China's gifted families from their homes in the north to South China would seem to constitute an almost suicidal destruction of the Chinese race. That the cream of our race should throw itself into the burning furnace of the south where it encounters high temperatures and humidity, prevalent parasites, rich bacteria and poor food, would seem to indicate that we, as a people, are bent upon destroying ourselves.

Upon the physical fitness and biological soundness of any race, depends in large measure its ability to cope with the complex political, military, economic and social problems confronting all nations and races in the world of today. If China wishes to remain a world power, she must take immediate steps to encourage a reversal of the present population flow into the all-consuming maw of the semi-tropical south.

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China's Railway Administration Needs

Snowrich P. J. Chu

IN view of China's recognized lack of railway transportation it is most advisable that what there is available to work with should be operated at maximum efficiency. The following two essays were originally written in Chinese for the *Railway News* and were published by that journal.

Design and Economics

Transportation economics are the highest goal of any railway administration. A railroad sells its transportation service to the public while the terminal is recognized as the principal point where transportation is handled.

It is for this reason that terminal design is obviously closely related with transportation economics. When talking about terminal design, numerous transportation officials think erroneously that it is the work of engineers and has nothing to do with them. Therefore, it should be pointed out that the station master is the man who uses the terminal. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to get a station master who is capable of designing a terminal.

Track layout is one of the big problems of terminal design. It has a very close relationship with the efficiency of station operation. In principle, cars should be kept moving and stops at stations should be kept down to a minimum as much as possible. If, on the other hand, cars are kept waiting in stations, the rolling stock will be insufficient to meet all traffic needs. It will become necessary to raise new funds and buy more cars. If the track layout is incorrect, the result is that train movements and shunting interrupt each other and the work cannot be carried out efficiently.

It has been the policy in the operation of Chinese railroads that train movements and shunting should not be performed simultaneously. According to this procedure, the switching movement should be stopped before an incoming train gets to the station. Consequently, the cars were kept idle for many hours. In the case of density of, say, trains running north and south and numbering 24 a day in each direction, there would be an incoming train or an outgoing train every half hour. Under such a condition, there would be no time for switching. On the other hand, if a railroad runs only two north and south trains a day, both train movement and switching movement would be managed properly and without interruption. Regarding freight facilities, if the design is incorrect, the loading and unloading of goods would consequently prevent train dispatching and switching.

With a view to making this essay a short one, I should like to raise several questions to illustrate the relationship between terminal design and transportation economics. Where is the right spot for a freight house? How many doors should be opened? What about the surroundings of a freight house? Should one side face the street, and one side face the track? Where is the right location for the track scale and the loading limit?

All of these are practical problems of railroad workings and are closely related to transportation economics. Transportation officials must supply such data to engineers and take

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part in terminal design and must not give up this duty, while engineers must accept this data and work for the common purpose of transportation economics.

* * *

Design and Administration

The railroad terminal is the principal place of handling transportation, which is the service which must be sold to the public. Transportation means movement from one place to another and includes line hauling and terminal operation of incoming and outgoing passengers and freight transportation. Terminal operation is the preliminary and final work of line hauling which is merely train movement. Train movement is considered easier to carry out than terminal operation. This principle may be applied to both passenger and freight service.

In passenger service, the passenger buys his ticket at the terminal, and also labels his luggage there. In freight, service, it is more complicated, for goods are usually moved by manual labor. Assembling and disassembling of cars, shunting, loading and unloading, all have to be carried out and the terminal is the only place to do it.

As a community grows the more are the demands upon its shipping facilities and its railway administration will be confronted with much hardship if the terminal design is incorrect. For example, it is quite common in China to find railway stations jammed and hours are spent in an effort to get tickets. One may claim that this is all due to poor management, but if the subject is looked into it is discovered that the terminal design and method of selling tickets are highly doubtful.

Quite often in China a small hole in the wall serves as a ticket selling office. The passenger standing outside is unable to look into the office and has no way of realizing how busy the ticket seller is. Even though the agent is usually very busy, the passenger outside, after waiting for a long time, will probably complain. It is quite evident that a hole in the wall is not sufficient for a modern railway station's ticket office.

It is necessary to have a large glass window and to protect it with horizontal and vertical metal rods. In this way, even if many persons crowd around it the glass will not be broken. The ticket box, dating machine and window should be so placed that no time is wasted when the ticket seller's hand moves around them. If one ticket is wasted one minute, in the aggregate, several hours will be wasted a day. This would greatly reduce the efficiency of a booking office.

As regards the method of selling tickets, in principle it would be convenient for passengers if any ticket could be purchased at any window. However, in a Chinese railroad office, first class tickets can only be bought at a certain window, second class tickets at another window and third class tickets at several windows. Particular windows are assigned for different stations. In this way the passengers have to move around from window to window and much time is wasted in finding out which window sells which ticket.

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BURMA: HER REBIRTH AND PRESENT ORDEAL . . . II

Lin Wo-chiang (林我將)

(Special Correspondent, China Weekly Review)

LET us return to the making of the Constitution in Burma's path toward independence at the time of the death of Aung San and the assumption of leadership by Thakin Nu. The drafted Constitution, the main features of which have been outlined in the preceding article, was adopted and passed by the Constituent Assembly on September 25, 1947. It was socialistic in outlook and inclined towards State Socialism.

To foreign observers, those sections in the Constitution dealing with the economic rights of the people in Burma should be of particular interest. The economic section of Article 23 states:—

(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the State guarantees the rights of private property and of private initiative in the economic sphere.

(2) No person shall be permitted to use the right of private property to the detriment of the general public.

(3) Private monopolist organizations, such as cartels, syndicates and trusts formed for the purpose of dictating prices or for monopolizing the market or otherwise calculated to injure the interests of the national economy, are forbidden.

(4) Private property may be *limited* or *expropriated* (italics mine) if the public interest so requires, but only in accordance with the law which shall prescribe in which cases and to what extent the owner shall be compensated.

(5) Subject to the conditions set up in the last preceding sub-section, individual branches of the national economy or single enterprises may be *nationalized* as acquired by the State by law if the public interest so requires.

Nationalization Started

It was on the strength of the above constitutional provisions that nationalization of the country's major industries began early this summer. Some of the biggest British corporations in Burma received first attention from the new Burmese administrators, e.g., the Irrawady Flotilla and Lumber Companies. At one time the I.F. Co. owned as many as 600 steamers of various sizes which operated on the navigable waters of Burma. That the British had very extensive interests in the lumber industry is also shown by the fact that 80 percent of the total revenue from teak was paid to five British firms.

This drastic action created quite a flurry among British investors and some members of the British Government. Although British Prime Minister Attlee had given his blessing to the Constitution, saying that it was quite in line with the spirit of British State Socialism, a number of Britons protested that this was a violation of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty signed between the United Kingdom and the Provisional Government of Burma on October 17, 1947. Article seven of this Treaty provided for the transfer of contractual obligations in relation to contracts previously granted by the British authorities to individual enterprises in Burma.

The radical elements in Burma, particularly the Communists, clamored for outright confiscation of all the big monopolies, such as those mentioned above. To them, Thakin Nu, the Burmese Premier, replied that even Soviet Russia has a definite policy of equitable compensa-

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tion for any property taken over by the Government. So a promise of compensation was given, and the two British enterprises were successfully *nationalized*.

In view of these facts, one wonders what will be the fate of the Burma Oil Company (B.O.C.), another gigantic British industrial enterprise in Burma, which so far has been left untouched. B.O.C. has been very prosperous, and used to employ a force of some 20,000 men in the oil fields. Its ordinary stock paid a dividend of 21 percent in 1938. However, it is not believed that under present circumstances any further nationalization on a big scale will be undertaken by the Government. One hears that the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, since being taken over by the Government, has been losing money.

Most foreign observers are agreed that the Burmese Government was right in removing monopolistic enterprises from the hands of their present operators, but they lament the fact that greater attention was not given to the political and social consolidation and general economic rehabilitation of the country first. It is generally believed that the breach within the A.F.P.F.L. camp, the belated determined dealing with the Communists and the problems of the frontier areas may partially account for some of the present ordeals confronting this young Republic.

* * *

Rural Policy

Concerning State policy on rural economy, the Constitution declares:

(1) The State is the ultimate owner of all lands.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the State shall have the right to regulate, alter or abolish land tenure or resume possession of any land and distribute same for collective or co-operative farming to agricultural tenants.

(3) There can be no large land holdings on any basis whatever. The maximum size of private land holdings shall, as soon as circumstances permit, be determined by law.

From provisions like these, it is clear that the men who framed the Constitution were well aware of the abuses and the precarious conditions under which the peasants live. There are also clear indications that they have been anticipating the implementation of the economic development program outlined at the Rehabilitation Conference which was convened by the late General Aung San, on June 6, 1947. (This program was later expanded into a "Two-Year Plan of Economic Development for Burma," issued in April, 1948.)

Why should it be expressly provided that "the State shall have the right to regulate, alter or abolish land tenure" and why should large land holdings be forbidden by law? Chiefly because Burma is predominently an agricultural country, with more than 12,000,000 acres of her land under rice cultivation. How-

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ever, a very large proportion of the cultivated land is in the hands of absentee landlords. In the rice-growing districts in Lower Burma, about one-fourth of the rice land is held by aliens, especially Indian Chettyars, either as owners or tenants, who took it over from the peasant owners in payment of debts. Cases of Chinese owning large holdings are rare; they have been functioning mostly as rice millers, buyers, brokers and exporters.

These abnormal conditions have been a cause of discontent among the Burmese and Karens, even during the days of British administration, and prompted the passing of the Burma Tenancy Act in 1937 for the protection of tenants and the prevention of further land alienation. Evidently, the aforesaid constitutional provisions are meant to go farther than previous legislation through the active intervention and assistance of the State.

There is no question that such reforms will increase public wealth and improve the material conditions of the people. Before the war Burma was the largest exporter of rice in the world, exporting about 4,500,000 tons a year, which constituted about 50 percent of her total export trade. But her exportable surplus of rice for this year has been estimated at 1,500,000 tons, which may be further decreased by the present disturbances. So the rehabilitation of Burma, as her leaders clearly anticipated, is largely a problem of rehabilitating her paddy cultivation. In view of the world shortage of gains, Burma's rice production is a matter of world-wide interest.

Reference has already been made to the drawing up of a "Two-Year Plan of Economic Development for Burma," issued soon after the establishment of the Union of Burma. This is intended to implement the economic policy laid down in the Constitution and covers practically every field of economic activity in the country. It concerns itself with problems of agriculture, industry, technical training and labor. In the introduction it is pointed out: "Political independence has been won after a hard and prolonged struggle and the supreme sacrifice on the part of many, and it is now the duty of the nation to consolidate that independence and extend it to the economic sphere—to create an economy which will ensure that a fair share of the fruits passes on to the common man."

Re-distribute Land

In regard to agriculture, it states that the policy of the Government is to secure a re-distribution of the agricultural land of Burma with a view to eliminating landlordism and returning alienated land to the peasants; to evolve an agricultural economy which will ensure that land is cultivated and organized along modern and scientific lines; and, as an immediate target, to increase agricultural production so that Burma will recover her prewar position as an exporter of rice.

In the field of industry the economic plan indicates what steps are to be taken and what the nation should guard against. Therefore, immediate steps will be taken for the rehabilitation of existing industries and for the setting up of such new industries as are feasible on the basis of raw materials already known to exist. "The profit motive and other considerations which usually govern industries in a capitalist economy shall not be allowed to determine the development of basic industries in Independent Burma," it declares. It further states decisively that "all such industries shall be established and developed as State enterprises."

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FASCISM AHEAD

J. R. Kaim

WITH the interest of the whole world focussed on Communism and what it intends to do, the world is generally overlooking another movement which, not so long ago, led to World War II. In different countries, Fascism has reappeared and is doing well. Contrary to the Communists, the Fascists today cannot base their hopes and activities on the ideologies of a great Power, but they preach their teachings, build up groups throughout the world and are developing an expensive and extensive propaganda machine.

While talking much of "Fascist activities," even the Russians so far have shown little interest in the resurrection of genuine Fascism. When Communist papers deal with what they term Fascism, they usually refer to political schemes in the Western democracies. Spain is forgotten, Argentina is almost a friendly country and the strong and well financed "private" Fascist organizations simply do not exist.

New Fascists Bases

Today, with Hitler's Third Reich no longer existing and Mussolini's Italy out of the picture, Fascists have to build up new bases and to apply new means. In Europe, in the United States and in South Africa, Fascists of varying origin are doing their best to rebuild their world-wide organizations.

In England, the leadership principle of Sir Oswald Mosley has found new followers. So long as the Conservatives ruled, Mosley, a pocket—size imitation of Hitler, had little opportunity to become a real threat. Now, however, with the Laborite program displeasing quite a few people in England, and the Socialists considering Mosley a fool rather than a dangerous Fuehrer, the "Union Movement" has become quite outspoken. "When anything decisive has to be done, committees and bureaucratic rule must give way to that individual command which is the leadership principle", Mosley declared recently, in refuting a London article in which he had been pictured as a madman. To call Sir Oswald a madman would be but to repeat the mistake which German politicians committed 10 years before Hitler assumed power.

Recently, another Oswald turned up in London. It was Mr. Oswald Pirow of South Africa, whose party has just won the elections in that country. Remembering Hitler's methods, the two Oswalds formed an international party which, in a modest and misleading fashion they camouflaged as "Enemies of the Soviet Union."

Although it certainly holds that to be an enemy of the Soviet Union, or at least of the methods it applies in politics, one need not be a Fascist, the camouflage was by no means stupid. Reports from London show that Mosley is gaining ground in England, while Mr. Pirow's friends already are in power in Johannesburg.

Oswald Pirow is no new hand at Fascist politics. In the days of Neville Chamberlain, Mr. Pirow, then African Defense Minister, was requested by Chamberlain to talk some matters over with Hitler. Whether he actually did discuss what Neville Chamberlain requested him to is not quite known, but when South Africa declared war on Nazi Germany, Pirow left the cabinet in protest.

When the South African Oswald departed from London after his visit to Mosley's headquarters this summer, he did not return directly to Johannesburg. He visited Madrid en route, and one would be very simple to believe that Pirow and Franco exchanged polite phrases only.

While Pirow went to Madrid, Mosley informed his followers in

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the United States that very soon he would have the pleasure of visiting them. Though not as gifted a propagandist as the late Dr. Goebbels, whom he admired, Mosley nevertheless has close contacts in America. From his now defunct German Fuehrer, he has learned that in creating a successful fanatic movement it is well to have the women on one's political side, and in this respect American women may not differ very much from their sisters elsewhere. Whoever has had a chance to read *The Womens' Voice*, a nicely managed Fascist-like women's sheet published in Philadelphia, knows that the ground is well prepared.

Fascism Grows

While only the naive could expect that Fascism would completely disappear after and because of the German military defeat, it is amazing to see how fast Fascist propaganda grows throughout the world. Again, just as in Hitler's days, Fascists pose as the only real and genuine adversaries of Bolshevism. Not satisfied with the destruction of Germany and the pauperization of the German people, the Neo-Fascists are trying to find new slogans to convince people of the correctness of their views.

The Neo-Fascists' propaganda has not yet developed to Herr Goebbels' fine art of deception; nevertheless it tries to revive the *Weltanschauung* of the Nazis. Neo-Fascists like to overlook the fact that Nazism was typically German. They want the world to forget Goering's statement that "National-Socialism has but one goal—Germany, and again Germany, and always Germany."

Since Goering's Germany has disappeared, Neo-Fascism can have but one goal: to destroy democracy and to create a Fascist world led by cooperating leaders.

No one with open eyes would claim that, as matters stand at present, Fascism is practically out of the picture and that the democracies are endangered by nothing but communism. Because the waters are troubled, international Fascism now has a better chance than it has had since the end of the war. Its growing propaganda shows what it is aiming at, and though the powerful Third Reich no longer exists, there are other countries in both hemispheres from which the fight can be supervised.

Nor could one say that the programs of such frankly Fascist-led countries are not synchronized. In fact the Totalitarians never had one single program. Mussolini's original Fascism differed as much from Hitler's as, for instance, it differed from the fascism of the dictator of San Domingo. The common platform was and still is the fight against liberalism, democracy and individualism, and not even the much favored spice of anti-Semitism is common to all fascist programs. Mussolini's original Fascism, for instance, did not use it.

However, the fact that Fascism may have various features in different countries does not mean any more than the other fact that Communism in Czechoslovakia is not the same as Communism in Russia. Such differences certainly cannot prove that the movement is not international. No doubt, Fascism is as international a movement as Communism.

While there can be no doubt that Fascism is an international movement and that Mosley, Pirow, Franco and even Peron feel much closer to one another than to any liberal politician in the world, it is difficult to realize what is the final political goal of the Neo-Fascists—

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apart from their leaders' longing for more power. Hitler's goals were very clear. He quite frankly explained his goals in his tiresome Nazi bible. He said he wanted more *Lebensraum* for the German people. He said that he believed in the superiority of the "Nordic Race," of which, of course, the Germans were the prototypes. The existence of international Communism gave Hitler and his henchmen a golden opportunity to add anti-Bolshevik spice to the original nationalist dish, while the use of anti-Christian philosophy gave them a chance to justify the extermination of millions of human beings and the enslavement of other millions of their adversaries.

Final Goals Unclear

In the light of such well-known facts it is difficult to grasp the final goals of post-war Fascism. The struggle between liberal-democratic ideas and Communist-totalitarian practices is on, and has started without the assistance of the Fascists. That the world should be dominated by or modeled after the pattern of Dutch South-Africans is too absurd an idea to be discussed at all; that England needs Fascism in order to be saved from Communism would be a ridiculous consideration even if the left-wing members of the Labor Party were less anti-Communist than they have proved to be. As an antidote for Communism, the world obviously does not need Fascism.

All that is left of the program of prewar Fascism is the racist doctrine, but even this dish has different flavors in different countries. Although the Nazis considered the Japanese the "Aryans" of the East, it still may be difficult to look upon Spaniards and Argentinians as Nordics, while to see anti-colored groups in the United States approving the same State doctrine as the dark dictator of San Domingo is almost amusing.

There is, of course, still that special flavor of anti-Semitism. But the recipe using anti-Semitism was known long before Hitler, and neither of the two Oswalds nor any of their friends can base a whole totalitarian system on so old and simple a formula. One may well be an anti-Semite without being a Fascist and one may be an outstanding Fascist without being anti-Semite. This, the history of Italian fascism has proved beyond a doubt.

The disappearance of the Third Reich's power has hampered the development of Fascism and has robbed the different leaders of their former backing. However they are apparently convinced that military defeat alone does not prove anything against their ideas and that the non-existence of Hitler's Germany does not force them to abandon the fight. With the attention of the world focussed on the dispute between the democracies and one kind of totalitarian political philosophy, Neo-Fascists realize a splendid opportunity to fish in troubled waters. Obviously, they have had more success than most people admit.

The Week's Business

DURING the week ending Wednesday, October 6, business in Shanghai was featured by what may well be called a run on stores. The chief reasons for this were first, a rumor to the effect that cotton cloth would be rationed in such a way as to supply every resident with some yarn every third month; second, that people were afraid the supply of various articles might soon be hampered; third, that quite a few residents wanted to get rid of cash.

The first of the above reasons resulted in hundreds of prospective buyers lining up in front of textile stores as early as eight o'clock in the morning. Storekeepers were bound to sell at August 19 prices and did so although they failed to believe that future supplies would be obtainable at corresponding wholesale quotations. However, they shortened their business hours and in many cases closed their doors at four p.m.

The second of the above listed reasons resulted in housewives buying all kinds of supplies. The atmosphere in which such purchases were carried out was described as uneasy with people buying as if they expected shops to be kept closed for many days. Some of the larger groceries in town were declared to be "almost sold out" on Tuesday afternoon.

The third reason, namely that holders of cash were eager to use it somehow, had some relation to the Government's financial policy as shown during recent weeks. As is well known, the Government itself created idle funds by buying foreign exchange and bullion from the people. The Government then offered shares of State-owned companies without offering the usual details referring to the status of the enterprises concerned. Next, the Government tried to convert all bonds at rates which brought losses to the original buyers (though there may be only a few original buyers among the present holders) and which showed that Government bonds may not be considered gilt-edged under all circumstances.

While in previous weeks, holders of idle funds were reported to have "invested" in refrigerators, radio sets and similar articles which they bought almost by the dozen, smaller holders last week were eager to obtain textiles, suits, foodstuffs, soar and similar practical goods. Some felt themselves lucky to have had an opportunity of buying several cartons of cigarettes which were hardly available at normal prices.

While, thus, retailers realized very erratic business conditions, trading on the wholesale and export markets was not normal either, at least not in all fields. It was reported, for instance, that in several lines, including certain foodstuffs, prices in the interior provinces were higher than in Shanghai so that supplies were hardly available at "normal," i.e. fixed prices. Many products were sold at prices far above the August 19 quotations (just as retailers sold them at higher prices from below the counter) with buyers facing the dilemma of either not obtaining goods at all or paying higher prices.

In some fields, exporters, too, claimed that prices in the hinterland have gone up drastically since the end of August and that frequently producers preferred to keep their goods rather than to sell them at prices which exporters were in a position to offer.

On Wednesday, October 6, a semi-official agency in Shanghai reported from Nanking that "in order to prevent a decrease in production, the Government may soon allow prices of some essential commodities to be increased and adjusted to a realistic level." It was acknowledged, the same source stated, that prices of various domestic basic materials were higher in their respective production centers than in Shanghai, which has resulted in a rapid decline in shipments of essential materials.

Basing their hopes and fears on that piece of information (which at the time of writing has not yet been confirmed officially), businessmen also asked what will happen to wages and salaries. Generally, they took it for granted that wage earners and salaried employees would try to obtain higher pay once prices of certain basic materials are "adjusted"; it would be unjust not to adjust the prices of finished goods in concert.

The above information followed the publication in the local press of somewhat contradictory statements with regard to the question of whether or not the present rate of exchange—one US dollar equalling four Gold Yuan—is to be considered final. While one statement said it is, another claimed the Government is entitled to increase the rate by 10 percent—in accordance with the International Monetary Fund's stipulations—and at the same time it was rumored that the Government does not and cannot intend to stick to its present official rate. It was explained in this respect that by adhering to the present rate, while prices of export products increase, the Government would endanger the export trade.

Quotations

	Sept. 27 GY	Oct. 6 GY
Wheat Flour	—	—
Peanut Oil	—	—
White Rice, first	20.90	20.90
Raw Silk "C"	1,480.00	1,450.00
Jap. Rayon	1,133.30	1,133.30
Cot. Yn. (42)	1,033.00	—
Koo Pun Soap	25.80	27.50

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Shantung Governor Captured By Reds; Stillman Sees Hope For North China

SINCE the fall of Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province, to the Reds, fighting along the Peiping-Mukden Railway has become more intensified. Although the next Communist move in Shantung is being anxiously awaited, military spokesmen of the Government stressed that the Nationalists are massing troops for a decisive battle with the Reds in Central Shantung. It was announced that crack government divisions, mostly mechanized units, are being rushed to Shantung for the forthcoming showdown.

The Communists claimed that General Wang Yao-wu, Governor of Shantung, was taken prisoner and this information was confirmed by the official *Central News Agency*. Meanwhile, word that eight American missionaries are "safe and well" in Communist-held Tsinan has been received in the United States by Mr. Robert E. Bryant, father of one of the missionaries. The cablegram was sent two days after the Reds captured Tsinan.

In view of the extreme gravity of the situation, President Chiang Kai-shek flew to Peiping and Mukden to confer with his army field commanders on Nationalist strategy in North China and Manchuria. Indications are that the Reds in Manchuria and North China are conducting a concerted drive. According to *Reuter's*, an undisclosed number of Nationalist troops trained by American experts in Taiwan went into action in the Manchurian corridor, as General Lin Piao's Communist armies, having tightly encircled the key city of Chinchow, began a drive for the Great Wall city of Shanhaikuan, known as the gateway to Manchuria.

This is the first time, *Reuter's* explained, that units of China's "New Army" which United States military advisers have been helping to raise in training camps scattered throughout Nationalist China in the past year, have been sent into battle, and reflects the seriousness of the Government's position in this vital sector.

It is reported that President Chiang may establish his headquarters in Peiping for the time being, in view of the fact that General Fu Tso-yi, North China commander-in-chief, is proceeding to Kalgan soon to direct the operations against the expected Communist offensive along the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway.

* * *

Save North China

IN spite of the critical situation in North China, Charles L. Stillman, chief of the American aid survey, believed there is still hope that North China can be saved from the Chinese Communists. Addressing the Far East-American Council of Commerce and Industry, he said that a recent visit to North China convinced him of the importance of helping that area hold fast against the Communists. He further disclosed that the Chinese industries being aided contribute to keeping the present military situation from deteriorating further and that "despite recent discouraging news we hope it is not too late to save North China."

Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, United States Ambassador to China, was re-

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ported in the Chinese press to be visiting Peiping and Tientsin in order to discuss with American consular officers and business leaders there effective measures for protecting American interests.

In addition, *AP* reported that the attitude of the US Navy toward the prevailing fighting in China has been clearly set forth to the Chinese authorities. It is this: United States forces will not participate in China's civil war but they will protect their own interests and property in Tsingtao. *AP* further commented on this and pointed out: "This means that if only Chinese military establishments are attacked by the Communists, US forces will content themselves with supplying the Nationalists with arms and equipment. But once American military installations are attacked US forces will retaliate, possibly with guns from warships in the harbor also joining in. Observers wonder how a full-dressed attack on Tsingtao can avoid involving US forces. They have many buildings scattered over the city and post facilities, besides an air base at Tsangkow which is also used by the Chinese Air Force.

* * *

Triple-barrelled Policy

IN order to overcome the economic crisis and achieve national unity through the successful completion of the Communist-suppression campaign at the earliest possible date, the Executive Yuan has adopted a triple-barrelled policy, which includes (1) strengthening the present anti-Communist front both politically and military; (2) increasing industrial production and (3) stabilizing the social order to a greater degree. In the execution of this three-point program, the Executive Yuan has entrusted the tasks to the various ministries concerned.

It is understood that under the first part of the program, an effort will be made to solve the extremely difficult and complex problem of supply. Then, the treatment of soldiers will be improved and there will be a reduction in government personnel.

Expansion of industrial, agricultural and mining production will be emphasized. This will be followed by maintaining and extending the present communication network.

* * *

Oriental Union

FORMER Premier Chang Chun's significant talk about an "Asiatic era" and about China's initiative in forming an Asiatic bloc aroused much interesting speculation. Observers in Nanking viewed General Chang's statement as a harbinger of a new Chinese policy of assuming the active initiative in the solution of the Japanese peace problem and promoting Far Eastern economic cooperation. It was emphasized that though Chang holds no official position now it is known that he has strong influence with President Chiang Kai-shek and he is the leader of the powerful Political Science Group

文鑑

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which virtually manages China's foreign relations. There is no doubt that Chang's recommendations will form the basic principles of China's new foreign policy.

In Washington, United States official sources revealed China is taking the initiative in tentatively testing the reaction in other Oriental nations to the idea of an Oriental Union of States similar to the Western European Union and the Pan-American Union. They said indications of this were found in China's Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh's talks with Jawaharlal Nehru of India while on his way to Paris, and also in the position he took in the General Assembly of the United Nations. At a General Assembly meeting, the Chinese delegate pointed out what he regarded as a lack of adequate representation of Oriental nations on the Economic and Social Council.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to learn from Washington that a blueprint for a Marshall Plan for the Far East has been completed in order to give American economic aid to countries in the Far East in their post-war rehabilitation work. Indications are that the countries in the Far East are desirous of obtaining aid from the United States.

* * *

Mission To China

THE International Monetary Fund, now meeting in Washington, is expected to send a mission to China, according to latest press reports. It was emphasized by authoritative sources close to the Fund that the Fund is not planning to extend financial backing to the new Chinese currency. But it is willing to extend to China the benefit of its technical resources, if they are desired.

China's currency problems are among the various world currency and financial matters slated to come up before the fund during the present meeting. The first move in this direction concerning China's currency came on September 28 when Chinese

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Finance Minister Wang Yun-wu and Ambassador Wellington Koo conferred with Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett.

Wang told reporters after the meeting that "there was an exchange of views on China's currency reform." While declining to give details of the talk, he expressed optimism on the outlook for the new Gold Yuan, saying: "The popular response to the Government's currency reform has been more than expected."

* * *

West Sets Up Command

IN order to meet any possible emergency, the Western Powers have decided to strengthen their joint defence measures by appointing Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery of Britain as chairman of the Commanders-in-Chief Committee of the Western Union's Defence Council. The Chiefs of Staffs Committee of the Western Union met in London October 5, a few hours after the naming of the five-nation command chiefs, to carry Western defence preparations a stage further.

The formation of the joint command, headed by two British and two French officers, was generally greeted by high United States officials as the most significant step yet taken to coordinate Europe's peacetime defences. This was regarded as one of the key moves necessary before the United States could "associate" itself with the Western European defence group.

In Paris, it was reported that the project for an Atlantic defence union, including the United States and Canada, had made great progress in discussions on high levels. However, it was not considered likely to reach the stage of public discussion or actual realization until after the results of next month's presidential election in the United States.

Reports from Paris indicated that the French Government was pressing Britain to agree to the appointment of an American general as supreme commander for the Western Union forces in place of Lord Montgomery. It was further revealed that the French want the permanent military headquarters of the Western Union to be established in Paris instead of London.

Reuter, however, denied such reports and stressed that Lord Montgomery's appointment had the full support of the French Cabinet.

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XI.—Opium and Animals

By PAO YUE

SOME time ago, one of the *Review's* readers from Lanchow wrote a very interesting letter (which was published in the Letters From The People section) describing conditions prevailing in that far-off northwestern part of China in connection with the Opium Suppression Campaign. The letter tells of a curious fact observed by its author, that even the cats in the homes of opium smokers seem to manifest an addiction to the fumes of the drug, implying, of course, that opium smoking was rampant in the area. The letter concluded with a request for an explanation as to whether or not it is really possible for animals as well as humans to become opium addicts.

Animal Addicts

I shall try to answer this reader's unusual question. Yes! Animals can be, and often are, opium addicts. There are numerous known cases of such addiction by animals, birds, and even gold fish, kept in rooms where constant smoking of opium was taking place—especially in the days before and during the war when licenced opium dens were abundant. It has been known to many a patron of these establishments, as well as to their owners and attendants, that, for instance, no canary will sing or caged cricket chirp if it is kept in a room that is filled with the heavy, sweet, penetrating fumes of opium. On the other hand there are cases of such birds, insects and fish refusing food and eventually dying when they were removed from the smoke-filled rooms of a Den to places where there was no opium smoking going on at all.

In Lanchow, whence the above question originated, the following remarkable story is popularly known and related: The city, built upon a plain of clayish loess soil, is filled with land rats which live in holes dug in the hills just outside the city boundaries. Every night, the hungry rodents invade the city and creep into its houses in search of food. One such rat family, so the story goes, used to go regularly to a certain house well stocked with grain and other stuff appreciated by the little thieves. They ignored other food possibilities, since this particular house was such a good bet, and it can be imagined that those who discovered it brought along all their friends and relatives to join in the feasting. This routine had been going on for years, until one day the owner of the house, a wealthy grain merchant, died.

Strange Deaths

Then a strange thing happened. Several days after the coffin containing the deceased body of the master was placed in the hallway (in accordance with an old Chinese custom which requires that the funeral can take place only on a certain date), the astonished relatives awoke to find numerous dead rats lying on the floor beside the coffin and in all the other rooms of the house as well. The corpses were removed, but the next morning more had replaced them. This state of affairs continued for several days, much to the annoyance and fright of the grain merchant's family. Then the death rate decreased and finally the mysterious phenomena stopped altogether. . . It was not until some time later, when another similar incident occurred, that the explanation was found: The deceased grain merchant had been a heavy opium smoker, having indulged alone or with friends, every evening—at the time the rats came to raid his granary. Thus the rats, in their nightly sorties to this house well-filled, not only with grain but with opium fumes as well, became over a period of years so accustomed and addicted to the powerful narcotic that when upon the death of the merchant, it was no longer available to them they could no longer eat his grain, and sickened and died. That surely is an effective way to rid one's house of ra'ts!

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US Magazine Roundup

Business Week

"LAND Reform Is China's Crying Need," says *Business Week* magazine in a report from Nanking appearing in the August 14, 1948, issue. The report describes briefly the task of the joint committee recently set up under the China Aid Act, whose orders include recommendations for modernizing China's feudal agriculture, for introducing irrigation systems, health, education and new marketing techniques. "But, most important of all," the article says, "the committee members were to 'consult with the Chinese Government concerning ways of carrying out land reform.'

"Without land reform," the article continues, "there is little hope of removing the Communist threat to China. Millions of peasants are now living in conditions of abject poverty, tailor-made for Communist missionaries. As long as the US keeps a finger in the dyke, the flood of communism may be checked. But if land reforms aren't carried out soon to win the peasants' support, democracy's cause is lost.

"Will Chiang Kai-shek's government go along with the committee?" asks the writer, who then states that "so far, it has ignored the situation. In fact, it is making a bad matter worse. It is levying oppressive taxes; condoning high land rents; and ruthlessly conscripting able-bodied peasants for the Nationalist armies. These measures have lost the Government all semblance of willing support from the peasants. Worse still, they have driven Chinese farmers from the soil in droves. It is estimated that several hundred acres of rice land have been abandoned in the past few months." The article also mentions the problem of the boatmen who transport rice to the cities. They are fleeing to the hills in order to escape being impressed into Government service—either with no pay or at rates too low to cover expenses.

Pointing out that the need for land reform is not new in China, the downfall of each dynasty having been preceded by peasant uprisings over the land question, the article states that today, the Chinese Government, with the help of US dollars already committed, "could lick the problem for once and for all." How this could be done, a scheme worked out by an American industrial engineer long resident in China and who has given the idea of land reform long and careful study, occupies the remainder of the article. Here are the major elements of the plan:

"*Land* should be purchased from absentee landlords and landlords with holdings in excess of their needs under a fair evaluation scheme. It should be sold on long-term credits to the peasants who actually till the soil.

"*The landowners* should be paid in special land bonds having a US dollar value. These bonds would be backed up with long-term land reform loans from the US to the Chinese Government.

"*The actual dollars* loaned could be used for industrial projects, especially those benefiting agriculture, such as irrigation projects, fertilizer and agricultural machinery plants. Each industry would be a special enterprise in the form of a stock company. Former land-owners would be invited to exchange their land bonds for shares in the new industries. This would give a new outlet for their interests and talents. Except in rare circumstances they should be prohibited from cashing in their land bonds for free dollars.

"*The land distribution program* should be under joint Chinese-American supervision. The US could supply managerial skill until enough Chinese could be trained to run the program.

"It is estimated," continues the article, "that such a program could be carried out in a Chinese province —say Kiangsi—for about $100,000,000. The money could be made available from current ECA appropriations. This kind of program, of course, would call for complete cooperation from the Chinese Government. The tax system would have to be revised. Warehousing and transportation would have to be improved. But these things could be done without US dollars.

"Land reform comes first," concludes the article. "Land reform is the only sure way of building a bulwark in China against communism. And until a land reform is implemented, questions of building up China's industry are strictly academic...The old dream of the economic development of China must wait on the solution of China's land problem."

* * *

Kiplinger Magazine

IN *Kiplinger Magazine* for August 1948, an article entitled "America Takes Over Britain's Role" describes the events leading up to this exchange and estimates the cost to the citizens of the United States of this "burden of world leadership."

"The headquarters of Western civilization has been re-located—across the Atlantic—from London to Washington," says the article. "Before 1939, it was the British people who paid the taxes that supported a navy to police the world. In the Far East, it was the British at Singapore and Hong Kong who directed the military affairs and commercial destiny of most of the Orient. The British dominated India. Palestine was a British mandate. Turkey and Greece, Iraq and Egypt were under the British thumb. The British Foreign Office contrived to keep Russia at bay, while London largely fulfilled international requirements for capital.

"Many Americans did not particularly approve of Britain's way of doing....Nevertheless, we benefited from the British peace. Given our own inclination to live apart from the world, and given Russia's need for quiet in which to work out her own internal salvation, that British peace might have lasted much longer." While it was actually World War I which broke the British peace, the resultant weakening of Britain did not show up clearly until early in World War II, when it became painfully apparent that her productive facilities were far behind the times and could not meet the needs of mechanized war. America supplied a crutch with lend-lease which, when found inadequate, was pushed into an all-out declaration of war. "At the war's end, many Americans assumed that the old pattern could be resumed. The evil axis was defeated, the US could relapse into isolationism and squawking about war debts.

"But such Americans reckoned without two things: Britain was no longer sufficiently strong for a world policing job; and Russia had awakened and gone on the march, thus bringing forth not only an internal threat to Western civilization, but also an external threat. These two realities have become increasingly apparent in the past three years."

And what is America doing about these realities? "As is usual when empires break up, partition occurred. The US had no objection," the article says, "to British withdrawal from India and Palestine. We limited ourselves to somewhat fumbling efforts to minimize bloodshed. So far, the US has seemed prepared to intervene only in situations where Russian expansionism is involved. We are taking over Britain's place in China, underwriting Chiang Kai-shek. Our naval vessels deploy in the Mediterranian. Our Army advises the Greeks, Turks and Iranians, and supplies arms. When Norway is reported to be to receipt of a Soviet note, it is US warships that suddenly decide to visit Norwegian waters. The military appropriation is for all this, and more. The Marshall Plan money is to restore the broken wing of Western civilization in Europe, to secure allies."

As for the cost to Americans of their assumption of Britain's role, the article has this to say: "To play their part in the developing drama of US world leadership, every man, woman and child in the nation will assume an obligation of $130 this year. That is figuring about five billion dollars for aid under the Marshall Plan (ECA) and roughly 14 billions for rearmament."

Chinese Magazine Roundup

China Reconstruction

ON the eve of the anniversary of China's national holiday, Mr. Shun Ch'in in an article published in the *China Reconstruction* of October 1948 reviews the achievements and failures of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, which founded the Chinese Republic. According to the author, the significance of the achievements is remarkable in the following respects:

First, the revolution overthrew the Manchu regime and established the principle of equality for all races in China. "The Manchu race is a minority of the Chinese population and the subjugation and domination of a majority of the Chinese people by the Manchu tribes is unreasonable. Under such circumstances, revolution is bound to break out . . . The victory of the revolution of 1911, it must be stressed, was largely attributable to the flare up of national sentiment throughout the country. The revolt in Wuchang found a ready and enthusiastic response all over the land in spite of the fact that there was neither close-knit organization nor strong leadership at the time."

Having brought about the downfall of the Manchu regime, the revolution of 1911 offered a correct solution for the national problem, the author adds, because in his inauguration address in Nanking, Provisional President Sun Yat-sen set forth the basic principle of equality for all races in China.

Second, the revolution of 1911 preferred revolution to reform. "Although the Manchu regime was rotten to the core, the majority of Chinese scholars and intellectuals pinned their hope for the future on some kind of moderate reform. However, the constitutional tricks played by the Manchus and their Chinese henchmen fell through one after another in quick succession with the result that the people became completely disillusioned and disappointed. The final despair of the overwhelming majority of the people indicated that the time for revolution was ripe and that the rotten Manchu rule must go. Therefore, full faith in the revolution and its ultimate victory was one psychological factor which contributed toward the success of the revolution of 1911."

Third, the author emphasizes that the revolution of 1911 was against foreign imperialism and relied on the strength of the Chinese people. "Both the Taiping Rebellion and the Revolution of 1911 were aimed at the overthrow of the Manchu regime, but the situation was different. The Opium War forced open China to foreign trade. In the very beginning the Manchu authorities were haughty and self-important . . . The Taiping Rebellion took place in 1850, when the Manchu court, in spite of the opening of China's door to foreign trade, was not yet completely prostrated at the feet of foreign imperialism. The years before 1911 were entirely different. The Manchu court had become submissive running dogs for foreign imperialism, ready at the beck and call of their foreign masters. The series of mass demonstrations in the various provinces throughout the country against foreign control of Chinese industry and mining were designed to protect Chinese interests against foreign penetration. In addition, the Revolution of 1911 entirely depended upon the strength of the Chinese people for the overthrow of the treacherous Manchu administration without any outside aid. This was the biggest success in the anti-imperialist movement in China."

Fourth, the loss of public faith in the Manchu Government was one important reason for the quick and dramatic victory of the Revolution of 1911 notwithstanding the inferior military strength of the revolutionary movement. "The revolutionary party at the time had no strong armed forces. The initial military successes after the rebellion in Wuchang were quickly followed by serious reverses. Even the city of Hanyang was lost to the Manchu mercenaries. However, the revolutionary movement continued to spread like wild fire. Province after province answered the call of the revolution and in a month the Manchu dynasty was on the verge of complete collapse. Desertions and mutinies in the armed forces of the Manchu court finally precipitated its downfall . . . It is impossible to preserve any regime once it has lost popular confidence."

Turning to the failures of the Revolution of 1911, the author points out that much of the blame should go to the compromising attitude of the revolutionaries. "The revolutionary party at the time was in control of more than 10 provinces and should not have concluded peace with the Manchu Government. A tragic mistake was committed in abolishing the revolutionary government in Nanking and supporting General Yuan Shih-kai as president of the republic. As a result of this compromise, the reactionary forces under the leadership of Yuan Shih-kai staged a comeback and finally succeeded in turning back the wheels of Chinese history, thus defeating the revolution in the long run.

Besides, the revolutionary movement under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was lacking in a practical revolutionary program and adequate preparation for work among the masses.

In conclusion, the author says that since history is written by man the human factor plays a vitally important role in the making of history; and that in reviewing the history of China's Revolution of 1911 it is advisable to profit by the lessons that have been learned from the revolution.

* * *

Century Review

THE Nanking—published *Century Review* of October 2, 1948 contains an analysis of the current military situation by Yen Hui, who is of the opinion that the fall of Tsinan has produced a far-reaching effect on the whole war situation.

"The initiative in the fighting," Yen writes, "is still in the hands of the Communist troops. The next Communist move has two possibilities. One is to fight in western Liaoning and eastern Hopei; the other is to drive on Hsuchow. The objective of the former is to bring the war in Manchuria to an end while the objective of the latter is to threaten the Yangtze Provinces and to cross over to the southern bank of the river . . . Present indications are that the Reds for some time to come will do their best to consolidate their position in Tsinan by starting a feint on Hsuchow. At the same time, the main body of the Reds may be transferred to the northern front in order to force a showdown with the Government troops there, thus ending the present stalemate.

"The Chinese Communists are hard-boiled realists. After the fall of Yenan and Kalgan, Mao Tze-tung gave pep talks to his men. He knew perfectly well that any political appeal made at the time would have a cool reception. But a series of victories gained by the Reds during the past year has given the Chinese Communists much political capital. This is the reason why the Communists have intensified their political warfare lately. They are talking about building up a new base as a meeting place for disgruntled politicians.

"From the economic point of view, the Chinese Communists have similar calculations. The relative calm in Manchuria during the past six months and the strenuous efforts made by the Communists there to construct 20,000 li of railway, expand the power plants in the various cities and increase production—all these indicate that the Communists are quite appreciative of the importance of economic reconstruction in the prosecution of the civil war. This is also the reason why they are particularly anxious to gain complete control of a piece of territory where their position is unchallenged . . .

"Such being the case, it is quite possible that the Reds may postpone large-scale operations for some time and concentrate their attention on 'digesting' what they have gained so far. However, this does not mean that Communist General Chen Yi will proceed to eastern Hopei. It does mean that he will play some part in the fighting on the northern front in addition to his mopping-up operations in Shantung."

What Chinese Papers Say

FORMER Premier Chang Chun's broadcast on his "impressions of Japan" was copiously commented on in the Chinese press last week. The problem of education in this country also was discussed as a subject of timely interest in view of the re-opening of the schools after the summer vacation.

* * *

Japan

THE *Shun Pao* expressed itself in disagreement with General Chang Chun with regard to present conditions in Japan and said General Chang was too optimistic.

"So far as his impressions are concerned, he was quite satisfied with that country which is under the control of General Douglas MacArthur. He said that Japan has already been disarmed. Consequently, he concluded it would be impossible for Japan to build up her military power to wage another war.... Economically, Mr. Chang believed that Japan is still far from self-supporting, to say nothing of her economic recovery.

"Mr. Chang reached premature conclusions on the conditions in Japan as he saw them, with which we cannot agree entirely. We feel that in stating that militarily, politically and economically Japan under MacArthur's control does not threaten anybody he was too optimistic. That the Japanese economy is on the road to recovery is a fact, and if such an economic recovery is not effected under the joint supervision and control of the Allied nations, it may herald the revival of militarism. Therefore, we should not lightly believe that the economic recovery of Japan would not present any threat to China.

"In order to thoroughly clarify the Japan question, we agree that the Japanese peace conference should be convened at an early date so that a peace treaty can be concluded in accordance with the principles laid down in the Potsdam Proclamation and the resolutions adopted by the Far Eastern Commission and that Japan's economy and politics may be democratized under the joint supervision of the Allied nations. Japan's politics as they stand today are still far from being democratized."

However, the paper supported General Chang's proposal for solving the Japanese problem from the viewpoint of the prosperity of other Asiatic countries. "Mr. Chang pointed out that the center of the world now lies in Asia. This is quite correct. The world today is sandwiched between two extremes, but the real way out for the human race does not lie in either of these two extremes. As an ancient sage has well said: 'Truth does not lie in this or that extreme but between two extremes.' The Asiatic era is an era between two extremes. We are in agreement with General Chang's far-sighted appeal and hope that an international conference of all Asiatic countries will be held under the auspices of China for the purpose of bringing about a Pan-Asiatic peace and prosperity. Premier Nehru of India has said that Asia should not exclude Japan, and that it would be unwise to clamp down on Japan. We feel that after undergoing a thorough ideological revolution Japan will be able to get on a really peaceful and right road."

The independent *Ta Kung Pao* regarded it as quite significant the report that American shipping companies have voiced their protest against the building up of Japan with American aid.

The paper wrote: "A development worthy of our attention is the fact that opposition to the building up of Japan is now being voiced even among the American people. The US shipping industry has already filed a protest on this subject with Assistant Secretary of the Army Draper. This matter deserves our closest attention.

"In the first place, it is generally acknowledged that the United States today is in possession of a navy which rules the waves. Therefore, normally speaking, the United States has nothing to fear so far as Japan is concerned. Why, then, are the American shipping owners feeling uneasy about the building up of Japan?

"In the second place, it must be admitted that theoretically a merchant marine is a peaceful industry. In her efforts to build up Japan, the United States is forging ahead to rebuild Japan's heavy industries and war industries as well. How is it that the shipping industry of all American industries should have first raised its voice in protest?

"In the third place, it must be noted that Draper is Assistant Secretary of the Army, who once went to Japan on an on-the-spot fact finding mission and upon whose report the much disputed Draper Plan was based. Why has the American shipping industry lodged its protest with Draper, instead of President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall or even General Douglas MacArthur?

"We may answer these questions with the actual facts of the situation. First, American shipping circles understand only too well what the Japanese shipping industry is doing right now. American businessmen are realists and they are ready to fight for their own interests. Besides, American policy in Japan is based on military considerations of possible war with Soviet Russia. Such a policy is incompatible with the interests of American businessmen. This is the reason why American shipping owners have raised their voices in protest.

"The history of the expansion of Japan's merchant marine is inseparable from the growth of the Japanese navy and Japanese aggression. In order to cary out wars of aggression, whether against China or the South Sea countries, Japan had found it necessary to build up a colonial merchant fleet to safeguard her lines of supply and communication and to coordinate her military operations in the various areas. It would be a mistake to consider the building up of the merchant marine as a peaceful industry, for the Japanese merchant fleet always constituted the vanguard of her forces of aggression."

* * *

Education

THE *Ta Kung Pao* expressed the opinion that education should keep clear of politics. It argued: "We have always felt, and still feel: that education should stand above politics. Partisan education of whatever form and whatever nature is undesirable because it will not help either education or politics at all. If education cannot be independent of politics, it cannot hope to be simon pure, nor can it hope to be free and independent.... In view of what has happened, partisan education has proved a miserable failure. At the present time when we are experiencing great difficulties as the result of civil strife, we can only pin our hope on the future. Education is a highly important factor in determining whether we shall have a bright future or not. If politics results in a failure, we can still hope for a turn for the better at an early date, but if education proves a bad failure or suffering will last for a long time."

The paper then stressed that educators assume a heavy share of responsibility to the students. "The conscience of the educator makes him feel a particular sense of responsibility toward the students.... If a teacher fails to guide and influence his students on the right road, or allows them to be persecuted by others, he ought to be ashamed of himself. Although the nation and society have failed to show due respect to the teaching profession, the teachers who have taken upon themselves an important responsibility should try to make themselves respectable by means of setting an example to their students in thinking, action and leadership."

As regards the students themselves, the paper said: "We feel they should not be criticized, nor can we bring ourselves to criticize them. .... The Chinese nation and society cannot be hopeful unless the Chinese youth are promising. And the Chinese youth can be promising only when education in this country is independent, free and pure. We should not put the cart before the horse and pass the buck to others."

What US Papers Say

THE three-cornered tug of war involving Russia, the Western Powers and the UN continues to occupy a majority of editorial space in the US press, last week's emphasis having been on the speeches of the Western delegates at the opening sessions of the UN Paris meeting. The problem of Korea, and the growing unrest in southeast Asia were also editorialized in US papers.

* * *

Western Unity At UN

THE speeches of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, Belgian Premier Paul-Henri Spaak and French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on the Russian blockade of Berlin underscore the unity and resolve of Western Europe, in the view of the US press. Editorial comment, citing the Russian record of duplicity and obstruction in international relations, praised the frankness of the three statesmen and their firm stand behind Charter principles in discussing the Berlin problem.

The *New York Times* said: "Despite bluntness, Bevin's speech was the very opposite of warlike. On the contrary, he dismissed professed Russian fears of attack by the West as nonsense and again appealed to Russia for cooperation in restoring peace. But he made it clear that such cooperation must consist not of words but deeds, and that past experience—including that outlined in the American 'white paper'—requires us to demand proof of good faith before we can again trust Russia."

The *Washington Star*: "That Bevin is in no real doubt as to where the Western nations stand is indicated by the following excerpt which he read from a statement by Lenin, later incorporated in a book by Stalin: 'We are living not merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. That means that if the ruling class—the proletariat—wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by military organization also.'

"It has been hard for the people in the West to bring themselves to believe that these words mean what they say. But the cumulative evidence to the contrary is overwhelming."

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Every lover of peace must agree with Bevin that in the end there is no safety in a fool's paradise. It is better to face the realities and to come to grips with them frankly and openly. Russia has refused to cooperate on a four-power basis with its wartime allies in the administration of Berlin and Germany. Now the world will find out whether the Reds will be any more cooperative when the issues are laid before the United Nations."

The *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Plain Dealer*: "Spaak's address was memorable not only for its logical reply to the Soviet Union, but for its statement of positive policies that inspire the Western nations."

The *New York Herald Tribune*: "Bevin's blunt eloquence has demonstrated that the patience of the West in the face of Russian provocations and bad faith is not the result of weakness, disunity or lack of determination. Without descending to the level of a Vishinsky, the British Foreign Minister delivered the most forceful indictment of Soviet policies that has yet been heard within the United Nations, and uttered the gravest warning which the rulers of Russia have heard from a responsible democratic leader."

* * *

Korea

WITH the government of South Korea, headed by Dr. Syngman Rhee, seeking admission into the UN, US newspapers in all sections of the country continued to evince extreme skepticism over the Soviet announcement of its intention to withdraw its occupation forces from northern Korea by the end of this year. Editorials urged that the United States must not be tricked into abandoning the new republic until the General Assembly has considered the issues involved and reached a decision thereon.

This stand was taken by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which said in part: "Korea's future has shifted from the category of a strictly Russian-American problem to a UN problem. Last spring, the United Nations sent a commission to Korea, but the Russians defied it . . . . The State Department has served notice, and rightly, that the American troops will remain in Korea while the UN General Assembly in Paris considers the problem. This is a sound decision because the United States has become the stake-holder and is entitled to be consulted before the rules of the game are changed.

"There would have been some greater assurance of Korea's ultimate freedom and independence if the Rusians had notified the United Nations of their plan for troop withdrawals, rather than merely broadcasting it into the air. The manner of the Soviet announcement makes it look no more than an empty effort to steal a march in the propaganda war."

The *Detroit News*: "Some fears are expressed that if we do not go along, Russia will be able to pose as the champion of Korean freedom. But in view of the record and of UN support of American policy, it would seem clear that this move comes too late to benefit Moscow's propaganda in the minds of any save those who are already true believers."

The *Minneapolis Star*: "Communist agitation will increase in southern Korea, whether we leave or not. A 'popular uprising' may set the stage for a North Korean army of liberation' which South Korea can't resist without our help."

The *Los Angeles Times*: "What the Russian announcement means is something like this: The Communists of North Korea are now so well organized that they can function without Red troops inside the country (as in Czechoslovakia). Also, with their industrial advantage and their Russian-trained army, they can take over southern Korea as soon as the American troops are out of the way. . ."

* * *

Southeast Asia Unrest

CONTINUED unrest and outbreaks of violence in nearly all of the independent and near-independent states of Southeast Asia may bring concerted action along stronger lines by all three major colonial powers in that area, according to the *Washington Evening Star*. In a recent editorial the paper said:

"The assassination of U Tin Tut, the strongest and ablest personality in Burma's fight against Communism, reveals the steadily deterioriating situation in that country. And of course, the Burmese crisis should be viewed against a similar pattern developing through Southeast Asia. Burma, Malaya, Java, Indo-China, and even Siam in lesser degree, are all involved in what is obviously a concerted Communist offensive to reduce that entire section of the world to political chaos and economic prostration.

"The case of Burma is especially glaring because no nation or popular interest is served by these induced disorders. Early last January, Burma acquired its independence by voluntary agreement with Britain, which was highly favorable to the new nation. Only peace and stability were required to rehabilitate the country and restore the material prosperity that prevailed under British rule.

"Rehabilitation, however, did not suit the Communist book . . . So word went forth from Communist headquarters to plunge Burma into civil strife. . . Development of a concerted Communist offensive, as seen in Malaya, Java, Indo-China and, above all, Burma, is strong evidence that the French and Dutch may have been right—a viewpoint shared all along by British Conservatives. Foreign Minister Bevin's recent avowal to Parliament that Communism is out to conquer Southeast Asia and that all means must be used to combat it, may thus be the beginning of a meeting of the minds between London, Paris and The Hague on concerted action along stronger lines."

The Review's English Lesson—LII

The following editorial is from *The China Press* of September 29. We are giving it practically **in toto** 1) as we feel that the context is so clear that you will be able to define most of the idiomatic expressions for yourself. The idioms are very commonly found in written and conversational English and deserve your attention.

"Whether or not the Berlin issue will prove the **undoing** 2) of the United Nations now **rests in Russia's hands** 3). By placing the Berlin dispute **fairly and squarely** 4) **in U.N.'s lap** 5), the Allied powers have brought the **showdown** 6) on the German capital right into the conference chamber of the Security Council. Any way one looks at it, the Council—and with it the entire United Nations—can be **put on the spot** 7)....

"The course ahead is precarious. The Council must decide whether or not the Soviet land and water blockade of Berlin constitutes a threat to peace. If the Council decides that it does not constitute such a threat, then it is following an **ostrich-like** 8) policy which will discredit the entire world organization. But again, suppose the Council does face the truth and recognizes the facts for what they are—what next?

"The Council might refer the problem back to the four powers. But that would only be **passing the buck** 9) for it has already been proved **beyond a shadow of a doubt** 10) that direct quadripartite talks are doomed to failure. Referring the Berlin issue back to the four interested powers would be little better than **shelving the problem** 11) for future consideration.

"Another course of action would be to weigh the relative merits of the two cases presented, as they probably will be, and judge who has acted against the interests of peace. If it is decided by majority vote that the Soviet Union is at fault, the next step would be to order the immediate lifting of the land and water blockade of Berlin and a return to the **'status quo'** 12) of last year. This would appear the logical course. But the Soviets could easily veto the motion. Even if they did not, what could the Council do to force the Soviets to obey its dictate?....

"There is still a third course open....That is, to refer the whole matter to a Berlin Fact-Finding or Mediation Commission. This would amount to **playing for time** 13) on the part of the Council, but it would prevent a possible collapse of the entire world organization....

"A possibility that exists today is that the Soviets will stage their own showdown in the Council—by presenting an ultimatum that either the Council drop the Berlin issue, thereby proving that it is not a **tool of the western bloc** 14), or the Soviets withdraw from the world organization....

"In any case, matters have **come to a head** 15)....if the United Nations can **weather this storm** 16), and bring about a satisfactory conclusion, then its future is assured.....On trial is the entire United Nations....on trial is global peace itself."

1) **in toto**—a Latin expression adopted into English, meaning in the whole or entirely.
2) **undoing**—ruin or the thing that causes ruin.
3) **rests in Russia's hands**—depends solely upon Russia.
4) **fairly and squarely**—a colloquial term for honestly or directly.
5) **in U.N.'s lap**—in the care of the United Nations.
6) **showdown**—definite display and expression of purpose and resources.
7) **put on the spot**—placed in danger.
8) **ostrich-like**—a cowardly hiding from facts, or refusal to face them. An ostrich is a bird which, supposedly, in the face of danger, buries its head on the supposition that it can not be harmed by something which it can not see.
9) **passing the buck**—a buck, in the game of poker, is a counter which the dealer cannot possess unless he has a jackpot—a pool that cannot be opened unless a player has a pair of high cards. The winner of each jackpot receives the buck. "Passing the buck" hence comes to mean shifting a responsibility to another person.
10) **beyond a shadow of a doubt**—indisputably, unquestionably.
11) **shelving the problem**—putting aside or dismissing a question, as if by storing it away on a shelf. If someone is "put on the shelf" he is dismissed from service.
12) **status quo**—existing state or position of affairs. The words have been taken directly from the Latin expression meaning state in which. Things in "status quo" are stationary or unaltered.
13) **playing for time**—keeping a given situation going by some means until a change can be effected. The expression originated in sports such as basketball when a winning team with a small lead in the last few minutes of a game, plays with the object of keeping the other team from scoring points and does not try for more points itself.
14) **tool of the western bloc**—instrument of the Western European countries used for shaping some object or gaining some end.
15) **come to a head**—developed to an explosive or bursting point. "Head", used in this way, means literally that part of a localized infection at which it is liable to break.
16) **weather this storm**—bear up against and come safely through this turbulent time.

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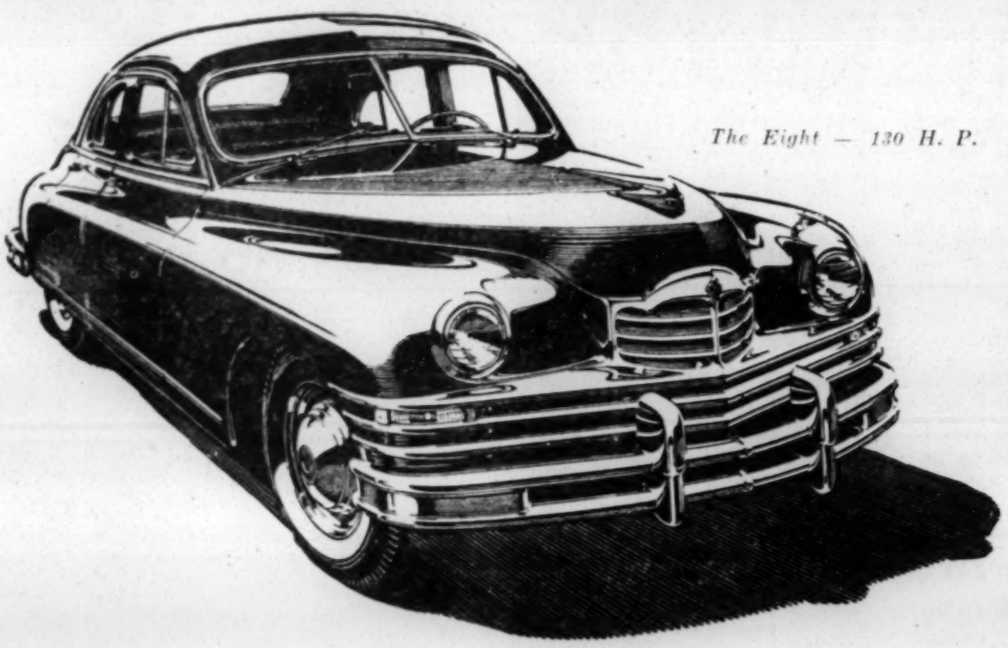

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